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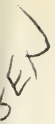

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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1882.

VOLUME LXIV.—FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME XXXIV.

BX 2 .M4 1882

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NEW YORK:
PHILLIPS & HUNT.
CINCINNATI:
WALDEN & STOWE.
1882.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1882.

ART. I.—NEW JAPAN.

THE title of this article is neither an anachronism nor an exaggeration. The radical transformation through which the nation has voluntarily passed during the past few years fully authorizes the use of the designation, "New Japan," which we have applied to it. A simple reference to the more prominent changes that have transpired is sufficient to establish this point. Among these events we may allude to the abandonment of its policy of seclusion and isolation; the formation of treaties with the leading nations of the world; the restoration to the Mikado of the authority which both *de jure* and according to primitive usage belonged to him; the establishment of what is at least approximately a constitutional form of government; the initiation of a national parliament; the utter destruction of the feudal system; the neutralization of its laws against Christianity; the introduction of a new system of coinage adapted to the demands of modern commerce; the adoption of the most improved methods for mining; the construction of railways and telegraphs, and the organization of lines of steamers both for domestic and foreign trade; the development of an advanced system of education; the acceptance and promulgation of the "Code Napoleon" as the laws of the empire; the reconstruction of its judicial administration in accordance with this code, under the supervision of eminent

jurists invited from Western nations; and, lastly, the proclamation just issued by the Mikado fixing the year 1890 as the time for introducing the completed form of representative government originally promised by him in 1868, and now in active process of preparation.

The foregoing condensed statement amply indicates the propriety of our using the title placed at the head of the present article, and ought to be sufficient, one would think, to convince all parties both of the sincerity of the Japanese Government in its progressive movement, and also of its ability to perform the task in hand. Bearing in mind that the existing period of reform in Japan was not preceded by a time of adequate preparation; that the movement commenced somewhat suddenly; and that, from the outset, it has been retarded by unavoidable complications and embarrassments arising from foreign as well as native sources, the success already achieved is certainly creditable to Japan, and, at the same time, highly gratifying and assuring to her friends in all countries. The character and ability of reformers are frequently indicated quite as much by what they do not as by what they do attempt. Judged by this test, the leaders of the progressive movement in Japan are entitled to high praise. It is noteworthy, in reviewing the course of events in that country during the past twenty-seven years, to see how few, comparatively, are the mistakes or injudicious measures into which the authorities of the government have been betrayed. Avoiding, to a great extent, undue interference with the local customs, social regulations, and religious convictions of the people, and directing its attention almost exclusively to matters germane and absolutely essential to the work in hand, the Government of Japan has steadily advanced in its great enterprise of reform without serious disaster, and, as far at least as the general lines of its policy are concerned, almost without failure. The brief summary of changes we have already presented, admirable alike from what it omits and from what it contains, constitutes the entire programme of the government with regard to this subject; and it is satisfactory to observe that every measure included in the programme has been carried forward to substantial and apparently permanent success.

A glance at the conditions under which this work has been performed will enable us to appreciate the value of the success already achieved. It is one of the striking features of the great political movement which has produced the recent changes in Japan, that it is not so much the product of a pre-concerted plan, as the outgrowth of events and forces, some of which were not in existence at the time of the inception of the movement, and which were at the first unknown to and, as far as we can judge, unanticipated by its originators and promoters. Among the difficulties confronting the leaders in Japan's *renaissance*, a prominent place must be assigned to the feudal system. With the territory of the empire divided into petty principalities, each governed by its own feudal lord, who, aside from a general allegiance to the supreme head of the government, was the ultimate and irresponsible source and factor of authority within his own domain, it were impossible to effect and idle to anticipate the accomplishment of a grand enterprise like the one going forward so successfully in Japan at the present time. And yet, while it was easy enough to apprehend and, in a measure, appreciate the difficulty presented by this system, it was not an easy matter to provide a practicable method for its removal. The system had originated with the nation; and, with the exception of about four hundred years, had, under slight modifications, co-existed with it. It had contributed to the formation of Japanese character, and had inspired, while furnishing the models of, the national heroism. It had dictated the laws of the realm, had given its own impress to the literature and art of the nation, and was interwoven indeed with the entire structure of Japanese society. It would seem that a system so impregnably intrenched could only pass away with the existence of the nation itself. It appears almost incredible that within the brief period of about seventeen years, reckoning from the time (1854) when Commodore Perry, on behalf of the United States Government, negotiated a treaty with the Government of Japan, the entire system collapsed and was relegated to its place among the effete institutions of a past age; and our estimate of the remarkable character of the event is heightened when we learn that the collapse of the system was due to the voluntary action of the feudal lords themselves. The influences which operated

to produce this surprising result will become apparent as we proceed with this article.

Another difficulty to be grappled with was the traditionary and dominant family or clan influence which had always been a controlling element in Japanese history. The Mikado, or Emperor, it is true, has always been recognized and deferred to as the supreme head of the empire. Regarded by his subjects as the lineal descendant of the great Sun-goddess, his person has been held sacred, his authority as of divine origin, and his will the unchallenged law of the land. But it was not to be expected that a being so exalted would descend to the multifarious and frequently distracting duties of an earthly sovereign: indeed, the very logic which enthroned him with the gods demonstrated to the Japanese mind his unfitness for terrestrial associations. It is only in the extremely simple and primitive condition of society which characterizes the first centuries in the history of Japan that we find indications of what we may call the direct or personal administration of the Mikado. From the eighth century of the Christian era the emperor was consigned to seclusion and comparative imbecility, while the administration of the empire passed successively into the hands of several of the powerful families or clans. It may be said indeed that the history of these dominant families is the history of the nation. The celebrated families of Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, and Hōjō, wielded the power of the government from the eighth century till about the middle of the fourteenth. From about the middle of the fourteenth century to the close of the sixteenth the executive power was in the hands of the Ashikaga line of Shoguns, supplemented by the successive personal administrations of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa clan obtained control of the government and exercised it until 1868, when the Mikado became the *de facto* as well as the *de jure* sovereign of the empire. This dual form of government, notwithstanding its irregularity, noticed indeed by the more thoughtful minds, had existed so long that it had come to pass unchallenged among the great body of the people, and was accepted and acquiesced in by them with implicit obedience. The Tokugawa clan, which, in the person of its chief, wielded the

power of the government when Commodore Perry approached the coast of Japan, was, to all appearance, firmly established in its position, and held its authority with a grasp as vigorous as that of any of its predecessors. It was not for a moment to be supposed that it would yield its high position without a fierce struggle. Introduced to power by Iyeyasu, one of the most distinguished characters in Japanese history, the clan, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, had administered the affairs of the government with eminent success. The period of its administration had been a time of profound peace. Its great founder, Iyeyasu, had, by his enactments, perfected the dual form of government, and given completeness and the highest efficiency to feudalism. He had made Yedo his capital, and he and his successors had held their courts there with a pomp and dignity unsurpassed in the history of the country. It is true that the long period of rest and prosperity with which the nation had been favored did not develop in the more remote successors of Iyeyasu a high order of executive ability or statesmanship; and that the Shogun, or chief of the clan, who held office at the time now referred to, was not distinguished for his administrative capacity. It may be said, however, on the other hand, that the prestige of the clan was high, its title to authority unquestioned, its mandates every-where obeyed; and that every thing seemed to indicate the perpetuity of its power. It was evident, even to a superficial observer of the situation, that any serious attempt to overthrow the existing Shogun, or to destroy the dual form of government which had continued through so many centuries, could not be bloodless, and that the struggle could only be terminated by the arbitrament of the sword.

The last difficulty confronting the Japanese reformers to which we shall refer in this connection was the dread of Romanism which, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, had dominated and overshadowed the thought of the Japanese. It is phenomenal and almost paradoxical that a system of religion so elevated in its morality, so intensely spiritual in its teachings, and so pre-eminently benevolent in its aims and methods as Christianity is, should have been regarded by the Japanese as the sum of all villainies, a system

utterly corrupt and corrupting. During a period of about ninety years the Roman Catholic missionaries prosecuted their labors in Japan. The missionaries were men of ability, and may certainly be regarded as fair representatives of the system with which they were connected. The Japanese received them with respect; and in large numbers accepted the new doctrines with at least apparent sincerity and enthusiasm. Every thing conspired to present an inviting field to the missionaries; and the brilliant success with which their efforts were rewarded shows that they both appreciated and improved the golden opportunity. Surely, under such conditions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the impressions made upon the minds of the Japanese by the lives and the instructions of the missionaries will be a truthful indication of the system they represent. What impressions then, we may inquire, were produced on the minds of the Japanese by their contact with this form or phase of Christianity? It is clear, in the first place, that the Japanese were entirely misled in their conception of the methods by which Christianity is to be propagated; and further, that their misconception in this respect was warranted by the facts in the case. The following statements, from Mr. Walter Dickson's * book on Japan, will substantiate this statement. He states:—

A persecuting spirit showed itself among the Jesuits very soon after the departure of Francis Xavier. "Sumitanda," they write, "King of Omura, who had become a Christian, in accordance with a promise to that purpose in case his wife should have a child, about the year 1562, or only thirteen years after the first arrival of a missionary in the country, declared open war against the devils. He dispatched some squadrons through his kingdom to ruin all the idols and temples without any regard to the bonzes' rage."—P. 164.

In 1577 the lord of the island of Amakusa issued his proclamation, by which all his subjects, whether bonzes, gentlemen, merchants, or traders, were required either to turn Christians or to leave the country the very next day. They almost all submitted and received baptism, so that in a short time there were more than twenty churches in the kingdom. God wrought miracles to confirm the faithful in their belief.—P. 165.

All this time one of the most zealous as well as influential among the Christian converts was he who was known as Justo

* Translated by him from the Jesuit Charlevoix's "Histoire du Christianisme au Japon."

Ucondono, or Takayama no Kongay no Kami. His seat was Takashi, in the province of Setsa, where he labored with a zeal truly apostolical to extirpate the idolaters out of his states, where the number was now fallen to 30,000. He sent word that they should either receive the faith, or begone immediately out of his country, for he would acknowledge none for his subjects but such as adored the true God. This declaration obliged them all to accept of instruction, which cut out work enough for all the fathers and missionaries at Miaco.—*Ibid.*

Don Justo had the merit, in his religious zeal, of being unconnected with any seaport town. All the other lords who had been brought over to the Roman Church were competing more or less for foreign trade: Bungo, Arima, Omura, Firando, and Goto; and though some of them seem to have been sincere converts, others wavered with the rise and fall of exports and imports.—P. 166.

The provincial put in a petition to Taikosama, which he is said by the Jesuits to have granted, namely: That it should be lawful for them to preach the law of the true God through all his States, and his subjects free to embrace it. That their houses should be exempt from lodging soldiers. That as strangers they should be exempt from all cesses and taxes which the lords do usually lay upon their vassals. . . . And he added to that, that he gave them license to preach, not only in his own kingdoms, but through all Japan as lords and sovereigns of the whole empire.—P. 168.

In the year 1587 they reckoned about 200,000 Christians in Japan, among whom were several persons of distinguished merit; kings, princes, generals of armies, principal lords of the court, and in a word, the flower of Japonian nobility. Moreover, what by Taikosama's esteem of our religion and kindness to the missioners that preached it; and what by his contempt of the bonzes whom he persecuted with fire and sword, burning their temples and pulling down their idols wherever he came; what, also, by vesting the Christian lords in the most considerable places of the government, and indulging liberty to all his court to receive baptism; over and above, by erecting so many churches to the true God, and so particularly countenancing the fathers of the society, the number of them daily increased. For, not content with sending frequently for the fathers to his palace, he went one day himself to visit the provincial on board his ship, and discoursed with him after a familiar way for several hours together. Not that he had any thought of religion, for he was so proud that he pretended equality with divinity itself; but by this had a mind to gain a reputation among the princes of Europe.—P. 168

It is clear, also, in the second place, that the Japanese received a very incorrect impression of the object of Christian missions, and, indeed, of the nature of Christianity itself; and

that for these distorted views the Roman Catholic missionaries were largely, if not wholly, responsible. Professor Griffis, in his work, "The Mikado's Empire," gives emphatic testimony on this point. Referring to the first arrival (A. D. 1542) of Europeans (Portuguese) at the island of Tané, ("seed island,") on the coast of Southern Japan, he proceeds:

> The name of the island was significant. The arrival of these foreigners was the seed of troubles innumerable. The crop was priestcraft of the worst type, political intrigue, religious persecution, the inquisition, the slave trade, the propagation of Christianity by the sword, sedition, rebellion, and civil war. Its harvest was gathered in the blood of sixty thousand Japanese.—P. 248.

He continues,

> All foreigners, but especially Portuguese, were then slave-traders, and thousands of Japanese were bought and sold and shipped to Macao, in China, and to the Philippines. . . . Hideyashi repeatedly issued decrees threatening with death these slave-traders, and even the purchasers. . . . To the everlasting honor of some of the Jesuit bishops and priests, be it said, they endeavored to do all they could to prevent the traffic in the bodies of men.—P. 254.

Seven years after the arrival of the merchants came the missionaries, (1549.) Referring to the missionaries, Professor Griffis says:

> As the different orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Augustinians, increased, they began to trench upon each other's parishes. This gave rise to quarrels, indecent squabbles, and mutual vituperation, at which the pagan sneered and the bonze rejoiced. . . . Christianity received her sorest wound in the house of her friends.—P. 254.

The resemblances between Romanism and Buddhism are many and striking. Professor Griffis remarks:

> Furthermore, the transition from the religion of India to that of Rome was extremely easy. The very idols of Buddha served, after a little alteration with the chisel, for images of Christ. The Buddhist saints were easily transformed into the twelve apostles. The cross took the place of the *torii*. It was emblazoned on the helmets and banners of the warriors, and embroidered on their breasts. The Japanese soldiers went forth to battle like Christian crusaders. In the roadside shrine, Kuanon, the goddess of mercy, made way for the Virgin, the mother of God. Buddhism was beaten with its own weapons. Its own artillery was turned against it. Nearly all the Christian churches were native tem-

ples, sprinkled and purified. The same bell, whose boom had so often quivered the air announcing the orisons and matins of paganism, was again blessed and sprinkled, and called the same hearers to mass and to confession; the same lavatory that fronted the temple served for holy water or baptismal font; the same censer that swung before Amida could be refilled to waft Christian incense; the new convert could use unchanged his old beads, bells, candles, incense, and all the paraphernalia of his old faith, in celebration of the new.—P. 252.

Meanwhile, in 1583, the Christian *daimios* in southern Japan sent an embassy to Europe to declare themselves the vassals of the pope, which fact becoming known to the central government of Japan excited the gravest apprehensions, and induced it to issue edicts forbidding Christianity and expelling some of the foreign missionaries. In 1590 more Spanish priests arrived from the Philippines, and openly defied the edicts recently issued by the Japanese Government. Resisting the stringent policy of the government, the Japanese Christians rose in armed rebellion. In 1606 a decree was issued from Yedo forbidding the Christian religion. In 1611 Iyeyasu, the Shogun, obtained documentary evidence of the existence of a plot on the part of the native converts and the foreign emissaries to reduce Japan to the position of a subject state; and came to the conclusion that the Christian religion was only a pestilent breeder of sedition and war.

Thirdly, and lastly in this connection, it is very clear that from the events transpiring around them, to some of which we have referred during the course of this article, the Japanese authorities received the impression that the only safe policy for them to adopt was to extirpate, at once and forever, the so-called Christian religion from Japan. Utterly mistaken in their conceptions as to the nature of Christianity and the objects and methods of Christian missions, and menaced on all sides by unprecedented and imminent dangers, which seemed to them the necessary product of the new doctrines, it is not strange that the Japanese authorities, in self-defense, should resort to extreme measures. Edicts, each more stringent than its predecessor, interdicting and execrating the *Jashin mon-i*—that is, "corrupt sect," followed one another in quick succession from 1587 to 1637. Blood flowed freely, and many thousands of the Christians fell at Sekigahara, (1600,)

Osaco, (1615,) and at Shimabara, (1637,) where the final crushing blow was given to the Christian insurgents. In 1596, six Franciscan, three Jesuit priests, and seventeen Japanese converts were put to death by crucifixion at Nagasaki; in 1614 one hundred and seventeen Jesuits and twenty-two friars of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian, orders, together with hundreds of native priests and catechists, were banished from the country. Sentence of death was pronounced against any foreign priest who might be found in Japan; all foreign commerce was restricted to Nagasaki; all Japanese were forbidden, on penalty of death, to leave the country; all foreigners, except Dutch and Chinese, were expelled from Japan; all sea-going Japanese vessels were destroyed, and the building of such craft forbidden.*

Fresh persecutions followed, many apostate lords and gentry now favoring the government. Fire and sword were used to extirpate Christianity and to paganize the same people who in their youth were christianized by the same means. Thousands of the native converts fled to China, Formosa, and the Philippines. All over the empire, but especially at Osaca and in Kiushin, the people were compelled to trample on the cross, or on a copper plate engraved with the representation of "the Christians' criminal God." The Christians suffered all sorts of persecutions. They were wrapped in straw sacks, piled in heaps of living fuel, and set on fire. All the tortures that barbaric hatred or refined cruelty could invent were used to turn thousands of their fellow men into carcasses and ashes. Yet few of the natives quailed or renounced their faith. They calmly let the fire of wood cleft from the crosses before which they once prayed consume them, or walked cheerfully to the blood-pit, or were plunged alive into the open grave about to be filled up. Mothers carried their babes at their bosoms, or their children in their arms to the fire, the sword, or the precipice's edge, rather than leave them behind to be educated in the pagan faith.

At Shimabara, where, in 1637, the "hated sect" received, as was then supposed, its death-blow in Japan, thirty-seven thousand Christians perished. Shortly afterward large numbers were hurled from the precipitous islet in the harbor of Nagasaki. Thousands more were banished to distant parts of the empire, or were put to death by torture. For centuries

* "Mikado's Empire," p. 257.

subsequent to these terrible scenes, writes Professor Griffis,* there was a name the mention of which

would bate the breath, blanch the cheek, and smite with fear as with an earthquake's shock. The name was the synonym of sorcery, sedition, and all that was hostile to the purity of the home and the peace of society. All over the empire, in every city, town, village, and hamlet; by the roadside, ferry, or mountain-pass; at every entrance to the capital, stood the public notice-boards on which, with prohibitions against the great crimes that disturb the relations of society and government, was one tablet, written with a deeper brand of guilt, with a more hideous memory of blood, with a more awful terror of torture, than when the like superscription was affixed at the top of a cross that stood between two thieves on a little hill outside Jerusalem. Its daily and familiar sight startled, ever and anon, the peasant to clasp hands and utter a fresh prayer, the bonze to add new venom to his maledictions, the magistrate to shake his head, and gave to the mother a ready word to hush the crying of her fretful babe. That name was Christ.

The foregoing is an indication, inadequate, indeed, of the impression made on the minds of the Japanese by the emissaries of the Papacy during the period to which we have referred. It is not surprising that, surrounded by such influences, the Japanese Government hastened to expel, at all hazards, the foreign intruder from its territory; to break off, except in one particular, all intercourse with Western nations; and to cover the empire with placards declaring that as long as the sun should shine no foreigners should enter Japan or natives leave it. We are now able to appreciate, in some degree at least, the formidable character of the difficulty which, from this source, confronted the advocates and promoters of progress in Japan.

Having glanced at some of the difficulties in the way of the progressive movement in Japan, let us refer very briefly to the processes or influences by which these obstacles were surmounted. Among the influences contributing to the recent radical changes in Japan, a prominent place must be assigned to a feeling of profound dissatisfaction on the part of the influential classes of the Japanese, both with regard to the results of feudalism and the existence of the dual form of government. In every feudal territory the military class had

* "Mikado's Empire," p. 259.

usurped and exercised supreme authority. The members of this class filled all the offices of government, administered the laws, took charge of the revenues, regulated the expenditures, and practically dictated the policy of the realm. The feudal lords themselves were to a great extent controlled by this domineering class, which, in some instances, claimed and exercised the right to say what share of the revenue should be given to the feudal lords for their current expenses. The farmers, merchants, artisans, and common laborers, comprising, perhaps, eight tenths of the population, were almost entirely at the mercy of the members of the military class, and were by them subjected to cruel oppression and gross injustice. The emperor himself, stripped of all authority, had been consigned to utter inaction and seclusion, while the Shogun usurped wholly the administration of the empire. We thus witness the spectacle of a great nation whose legitimate sovereign and subordinate chiefs are mere figure-heads, and the vast majority of whose population, deprived of their rights, have been reduced to the most exacting servitude, while the members of a numerically insignificant class have monopolized the authority, offices, dignities, emoluments, and revenues of the empire, they themselves, meanwhile, being in many respects above law and amenable to no court of justice. This abnormal and unjust condition of affairs did not fail to arrest the attention of thoughtful Japanese. The second Prince of Mito, (1622–1700,) in his "Cai Nihon Shi," (History of Great Japan,) had intimated as plainly as it was possible to do at that time that the Mikado was the sole legitimate sovereign of the empire. Other writers, as Kada, Mabuchi, Hatori, Motoori, Hirata, and others, advocated a similar view. These writings in manuscript form were read and studied by Japanese students throughout the empire; and in 1851 the "Cai Nihon Shi" was issued from the press.

Other influences were at work also in the same direction. Through the Dutch residents at Nagasaki, the Japanese Government had obtained much information concerning the progress of events in Europe and other parts of the world. The excitement consequent on the discovery of gold in California and the rapid growth of population on the Pacific were not unnoticed by the Japanese. Russia was steadily moving toward

Japan from the north. American whalers, cruising in the adjacent waters, were ever and anon visiting Japanese ports on errands of mercy, or constrained by necessity. America, England, France, and other nations were anxious to form treaties with Japan. There is satisfactory evidence that the scholars of the period to which we now refer were engaged in carefully observing and studying the signs of the times. More than one hundred and fifty years before the United States fleet under Commodore Perry visited Japan, the work of preparation for the progressive movement now going forward in that country had begun. Religious motives combined with patriotism to stimulate the energy of those who dared to advocate sentiments unacceptable to the governing class and attended with imminent peril to those advocating them. The earnest persistent movement to reform the religion of the Japanese, known as the revival of Pure Shinto, exercised a powerful influence on this question. The advocates of this reform, some of whose names have already been given in a preceding paragraph of this article, had the courage to enunciate principles, the logical sequences of which are found in the most radical measures adopted by the progressive party of Japan to-day; and it is sheer justice to such men as Kada, Hirata, Motoori, Mabuchi, and their compeers, to say that the brilliant success with which the efforts of Japanese statesmen in our day have been crowned, is due chiefly to the influence of their writings. A successor and lineal descendant of the second Prince of Mito, to whom we have already referred, cherishing the opinions of his great ancestor, but influenced probably by mixed motives, had commenced, in the year 1840, to collect war material with a view to insurrectionary proceedings; but the vigorous measures of the government thwarted his plans; and it was not till the stirring times consequent upon Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan that he was released from the confinement into which he had been thrown by the Shogun's government.

Passing from the causes underlying this great national movement, let us indicate chronologically the principal stages in its development. In March, 1854, the Shogun concluded and signed the treaty between Japan and the United States. November, 1867, Keiki, the last Shogun of Japan, resigned his

office. January, 1868, the clans of Satsuma, Tosa, Echizen, and Owari obtained control of the Mikado's person and took possession of the government. Civil war followed and continued till July 1, 1869, when it terminated in the complete overthrow of the Shogun's party, and the establishment of the Mikado as the *de facto* sovereign of the empire. In 1871 the feudal lords voluntarily resigned their offices, titles, and revenues, and retired to the rank of private subjects, thus placing the administration of the whole empire in the hands of the Mikado and the officers he might appoint.

We now leave what may be termed the initial stage of this remarkable enterprise, and proceed to its second, or constructive, period, when, pressed by the exigencies of their position, the national leaders began to grapple with the great practical difficulties confronting them. Okubo, Iwakura, Kido, Sanjo, Soyejima, Goto, Katsu, Ito, and others, were the statesmen on whom the Mikado relied in this great emergency; and nobly did they respond to his confidence. To modernize the government, and thus adapt it to the demands of the present age, was one of the urgent problems. This was effected by inviting eminent scholars and statesmen from America and Europe to take charge of departments in the administration of the Government and also of educational institutions established in Japan, by sending abroad many of their youth to be educated in Western countries, and by putting into operation an educational system which provides at least approximately for the literary training of all the youth of the empire. The next great difficulty was the provision to be made for the *samurai*, or military class, which through so many centuries had practically dominated the empire. This was overcome by retiring the members of the class on pensions to be paid them annually; and subsequently, when the productive classes of the country complained of injustice in being taxed to support an unproductive and now almost useless portion of the population, the government compounded with the *samurai* by paying them at once a specified amount in liquidation of all claims, thus relieving the administration of a heavy annual draft on its exchequer. But perhaps the greatest difficulty of all was to provide an adequate supply of money for the extraordinary expenses of the government

during its transition period. It is not claimed that in the performance of this most difficult task the Japanese have been uniformly successful, or that they have invariably adopted the best measures to accomplish their object; and yet it is certainly creditable to them to be able to state that after an administrative experience of at least twenty years, during which period most of the extraordinary disbursements of the government have been completed, the entire foreign debt of the nation is only about eleven millions of dollars, the balance of the estimated debt being simply the depreciation of the national paper currency, which is entirely in the hands of the Japanese. It should be stated, moreover, that in the extraordinary expenses during the period just referred to are included the enormous cost of suppressing two rebellions, one of which was of so formidable a character that to it the government, in all probability, would have succumbed if it had not been for the help it most opportunely derived from the modern appliances of steamer and telegraph at its command. To these gratifying evidences of national growth and prosperity we may add the gradual removal of the anti-Christian prejudices which at one time seemed to place an impassable barrier between Japan and Christian nations. To destroy those distortions and caricatures of Christianity which had taken possession of the Japanese mind it was only necessary to present the truth. The lives and instructions of Christian missionaries, and, more than all, the study of the sacred Scriptures, recently for the first time translated into the Japanese language, have been quite sufficient to enable the Japanese to appreciate the beneficent spirit of Christianity and the wonderful character of its Divine Founder, whom many of them have already learned to acknowledge as "my Lord and my God."

Japan, with her thirty-four millions of inhabitants, is now knocking for admittance at the gate of Christendom. She is the first one of the great nations of Asia to break away voluntarily from the old Asiatic ideas and seek to place herself in harmony with modern European thought and civilization. What she has hitherto accomplished in the career of progress on which she has entered affords ample evidence at once of her sincerity and of her ability to discharge the duties of the high position to which she aspires. The geographical situation of Japan,

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the character of her people, and the spirit of inquiry developing among other Asiatic races, together with its evident drift toward modern civilization—all these considerations indicate at once the paramount importance and promise of Japan's present attitude, and the far-reaching influence her example will exert throughout the Far East. Under such circumstances it certainly is extremely desirable that the present disposition of Japan, and the advances she is now making in the direction of cosmopolitan intercourse and responsibilities, shall be responded to at least in a friendly and liberal spirit by the professedly Christian nations of the world. We indicate only what is generally known in circles conversant with affairs in the Far East, when we state that for some years past Japan has felt aggrieved by the continuance, in her treaties with Western nations, of certain stipulations inconsistent with, and, as she avers, in violation of, her rights as an independent nation. It is only just to Japan to state, in this connection, that, while presenting the foregoing grievance, she at the same time admits the expediency of inserting the stipulations now complained of in the treaties when first formed. Assenting to this, however, she claims that, in view of the rapid advancement since the original formation of the treaties, the time has fully come when the stipulations, being no longer necessary, should be canceled.

The first stipulation in the treaties of which Japan now complains is what is popularly designated the extra-territoriality clause—a clause which provides that the citizens or subjects of Western nations having treaties with Japan shall be subject, during the period of their residence in the latter country, not to the laws of Japan but to the laws of their respective countries. The principle underlying this stipulation, as is well known, was not asserted for the first time by Western nations when the treaties with Japan were formed. When Christian powers began to negotiate treaties with non-Christian powers, as Turkey, China, etc., it was believed that, in view of the laws of those non-Christian nations, and the imperfect administration under them, it was neither prudent nor safe to intrust to such protection the persons and property of their citizens or subjects who for business or other purposes might desire to reside, for a time, within the territory of the aforesaid non-

Christian States. When the treaties with Japan were negotiated, the Western high-contracting powers, in accordance with the precedents established in regard to this subject, inserted the extra-territoriality clause, and these clauses remain in the treaties to the present day. In support of their request for the rescission of these stipulations, which they have come to consider derogatory and unjust, the Japanese urge that by the adoption of the Code Napoleon as the laws of the empire, and by placing the administration of these laws under the supervision of a commission comprising eminent jurists from Western countries, they have given every guarantee that can reasonably be demanded of them for the due protection of all foreigners who may reside within the territory of the empire. It is difficult to conceive in what respect the foregoing request of the Japanese Government, with reference to this important subject, is not equitable and just. Another stipulation in the treaties, of which the Japanese complain, is the clause which fixes the tariff of duties to be levied by their government on the exports and imports of the empire, and provides that no change of the tariff shall be made without the knowledge and consent of the original high-contracting parties. The Japanese urge, in support of their request for the abrogation of this stipulation, that while the condition of their country, at the time the first treaties were formed, may have rendered such a provision expedient and necessary, the circumstances have now entirely changed; the empire has become firmly established on its new basis; its laws are now entirely in harmony with those of Western nations; it has fully demonstrated its ability to administer its own affairs; and consequently, that to deprive the Japanese Government of the power to regulate its own commerce is every way prejudicial to its interests, and utterly inconsistent with its dignity as a sovereign and independent State. The pertinency and force of the foregoing considerations can be readily appreciated. It would seem, indeed, that the best and only adequate reply that can be offered by the other high-contracting parties to the modest claim of the Japanese with regard to the point now before us, is to give to it at once their unreserved and hearty assent. Before leaving this portion of our subject we desire to support most earnestly the recommendation contained in the recent message from the

President of the United States suggesting the immediate return to the Japanese Government of the unclaimed balance of the so-called "indemnity fund" now lying in the treasury of the United States. It is said that the delay which has occurred in reference to this matter has been caused by certain legal or technical difficulties connected with the case. We are not aware how many or how formidable these difficulties may be, but we trust and believe it will not be found impossible or inexpedient for a great Christian nation to devise some suitable method by which to perform an act of sheer justice to another great nation with which it sustains treaty relations. We do not wish it to be understood, from our reference to the indemnity question in this connection, that the Japanese Government has ever requested the return of the money to which we have just referred. The Government of Japan will never prefer such a request, but in all probability will gratefully accept the amount, when tendered to her, as an expression of good-will and sympathy on the part of the Government of the United States.

If evidence is desired as to the sincerity of Japan in her present progression, and her ability to perform the task she has undertaken, it is only necessary to refer to what she has already accomplished since entering on her career of progress. During the brief period of twenty-seven years, as has been already intimated in the opening paragraph of this article, Japan has to a great extent remodeled her government and laws, together with her political and social institutions. Railroads, steamers, telegraphs, together with improved appliances for manufactures, mining, agriculture, etc., have been introduced. A mint has been established by which the precious metals are coined in a manner that challenges admiration. A system of general education, with provisions of the most liberal character, is now in operation throughout the empire. The productions of the country are steadily increasing; new lines of industry are developing, and commerce is growing quite as fast as could be expected under existing treaty stipulations. Public sentiment representing all classes of society has, to an extent that could not have been anticipated, ceased to be Asiatic, and is rapidly becoming European and Christian. Even with regard to religious matters, where, in most

countries, ignorance and fanaticism have never failed to intrench themselves for a last desperate struggle with advancing intelligence, the Government of Japan has adopted the policy of neutrality, thus relegating this momentous question to the conscience of the individual, and affording, in the main, a fair field and equal opportunities to each of the great religious bodies operating in the empire. But the triumphs of peace have not been the only victories won by the Japanese Government during the period now under review. From time immemorial, among the Japanese, the ultimate appeal with regard to all controverted points had been to the sword—the verdict had usually been written in blood. It was not to be expected that a resolute and persistent effort to substitute the pen for the sword as the defender of rights, and reason and law for violence and war, as the tribunal of ultimate arbitrament, would meet with immediate and universal acceptance in Japan. To disband, as it were, the *Samurai* class, constituting practically a vast standing army, and transfer its disarmed members to the rank of private citizens or subjects, was an enterprise the difficulties and dangers of which might well appall the most daring spirit. As we now calmly review the events of the past four years, it is impossible not to admire the courage and statesmanship of the men who could initiate and execute such a radical reform. The assassination of Okubo, the daring attempt to assassinate Iwakura, and the two formidable outbursts of popular violence known respectively as the Saga and Satsuma rebellions, show the terrible character of the dangers to which we have referred. A government which has achieved successes like these we are now considering has certainly demonstrated its ability to administer the affairs of a great nation, and may confidently anticipate a cordial welcome, at no distant day, to the comity of Christian States.

We cannot close this article without presenting an aspect of the subject which must, we think, appeal directly and powerfully to every member and branch of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ. Japan presents to-day the unparalleled example of a great non-Christian nation awaiting, in a voluntarily assumed attitude of expectant receptivity, the advent of the Christian religion. Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism have all been tried by her, and have been found wanting. She

has now obtained some knowledge of Christianity. She sees that Christianity is the great moral power of the world—that Christian nations are, every-where, the chief factors in human civilization and progress. She has learned that Christianity reveals truths after which her highest minds have long been vainly groping; that it offers freely to every believer the rest and joy for which, through the ages of the past, her weary and heavy-laden ones have been seeking; and that it saves perfectly and forever all who comply with its requirements. She has ascertained, moreover, that the provisions and invitation of the Gospel are for all races; and that the Saviour of the world has commanded his people to preach the glad tidings of his salvation to every creature. Inspired by the hopes legitimately excited by these glorious truths, and not questioning for a moment the willingness of Christians to yield cheerful and swift obedience to the command of their Lord, Japan now awaits the Christian missionary.

The recent success of Christian missionary efforts in Japan has been extremely gratifying. In 1859 the first Protestant missionaries commenced their labors in the empire; but, in consequence of the disturbed condition of affairs and the restrictions of the government, it was not till 1869 that it was practicable to engage publicly in efforts for the proclamation of the Gospel. The first church of Japanese converts (Protestant) was organized March 10, 1872, in Yokohama, and comprised ten members under the care of a native ordained pastor. During the ten years that have elapsed since the organization of that church the number of Christian church-members in Japan has increased to over three thousand; a rapidly increasing corps of trained and devoted native preachers has been raised up; Christian schools have been established; two religious periodicals are published; Christian churches and communities have been formed in many of the principal cities and provinces of the empire; the traditional prejudices against the Christian religion have been to a great extent removed. The scriptures of the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament have been translated into the Japanese language and extensively circulated; a Christian literature is growing up; the influence of Christian truth is permeating all classes of society; some of the officers of government are members of

Christian Churches, others recognize the excellence of Christianity, while none of them, as far as we know, are fanatical, persecuting heathen. The government, by its attitude of religious neutrality, is opening the way for Christianity, and practically favors it. The people, in some portions of the country, have already pulled down their heathen temples and destroyed their idols, while every-where respectful treatment and attentive hearing are accorded the Christian missionary. With regard at least to spiritual matters, the Japanese are now at sea, and will inevitably drift with the strongest current. It is entirely probable that during the coming ten or twenty years the religious faith and institutions of the Japanese will be molded and settled for an unlimited future.

In view of what has just been stated, it certainly is at once pertinent and important for us to inquire, What are the influences now operating in Japan which are likely to affect the religious character of her people? The answer to this inquiry will show, we think, that, while there is ground for hope, there is, at the same time, serious occasion for solicitude and alarm. It is unquestionably true, in the first place, that some of the most brilliant and progressive minds in Japan, intoxicated, as it were, by their contact with modern civilization, seem inclined to adopt latitudinarian, if not atheistic, views in regard to religious matters. They read with avidity, either in the original or translated form, the works of foreign writers who inculcate such opinions; and we shall not be charged with uncharitableness when we state frankly that their tendency in the direction of these sentiments has been accelerated by the example and teaching of some of the Western scholars whom the Japanese Government has employed to assist and direct in her educational work. We remark, in the second place, that the missionaries of the Roman Catholic and the Russo-Greek branches of the Church of Christ are occupying the field in force, and are prosecuting their work, the former with the trained wisdom of veterans, the latter with the dashing enthusiasm of neophytes in the missionary service, while both of them have at command apparently inexhaustible resources and appliances. It is not our purpose or desire to act the part of an alarmist; and yet a conscientious regard for the interests involved compels us to state as our profound conviction that,

in our judgment, the magnitude of the dangers to which we have just referred, and, consequently, the extreme gravity of the situation in Japan, are not adequately appreciated by the friends and supporters of Christian missions who are connected with the Protestant Churches in the United States and Europe.

The influence of Protestant Christianity is the last plastic power operating in Japan to which we shall now refer. It is, to say the least, an interesting historic coincidence that, while the conquering Iyeyasu was stamping out what he supposed to be the last vestiges of Romanism in Japan, the *Mayflower* was bearing her precious freight across the Atlantic to found a nation of truth-loving, liberty-proclaiming patriots and heroes whose descendants, in due process of time, should carry to Japan a purer form of the religious faith she once destroyed. Enjoying complete immunity, on the one hand, from the traditional hatred against Romanism, and, on the other hand, from the fear of political complications with the Russo-Greek agents, cherished by the Japanese people, the missionaries of Protestant Christianity entered Japan under conditions exceptionally favorable. It is not surprising, therefore, that Protestantism, though somewhat tardy in entering the field, should be warmly welcomed by the Japanese, and should already give cheering promise of eminent success in leading them to Christ. Many reasons, each valid in its way, may be assigned for the success of Protestant missions in Japan, and all, doubtless, have contributed to the grand result; but the one consideration which, in this connection, we wish to emphasize beyond every other, is that Protestant missionaries, in the main, guided by conscientious convictions as well as by denominational instincts and antecedents, have, from the outset, endeavored to preach to the Japanese, as absolutely necessary to their salvation, the Gospel, the whole Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel. While we may not expect that the conflict of truth with error will ever cease during the period of human probation, there is every reason to believe that in Japan what may, perhaps, be termed the crucial struggle, that is, the struggle which shall decide, at least for the department of morals and religion, the vital question—Who is master?—will be short, sharp, and decisive. The Japanese mind is swift, radical, and fearless in its logical movements. It cannot brook delay. Action is inev-

itable. Years have already elapsed since heathenism in Japan received its crushing blow. The heart of the nation, weary of its burdens, longs for rest and comfort. To whom shall it go?

The time, we think, has fully come when Christian nations should accord to Japan the same rights they accord to any other treaty power, and should cordially extend to her practical sympathy and assistance, when desired, in her efforts to prepare herself for acting an honorable part in the great family of Christian states. It is also high time that the Church of Christ, in all lands, should respond promptly and magnanimously to Japan's appeal for spiritual enlightenment and help.

Art. II.—AMERICAN LUTHERANS AND THEIR DIVISIONS.

The Lutherans, though strong in numbers, have not impressed their importance upon the people of our country as firmly as Churches which have less than half their numerical strength. The comparative obscurity in which they exist is not to be accounted for by saying their communion has but recently planted itself among us. It is a fact which, perhaps, many do not know, that Lutheran service was celebrated in this country almost as early in the seventeenth century as the Congregational or Dutch Reformed, as we shall presently see. It is true, however, that while Lutherans may count nearly two centuries and a half since their first church was built in America, the great majority of those now reckoned as communicants are new to our country, new to its language, new to its customs, and have not yet become assimilated with its population. In religion they occupy a position apart. They have neither fallen into the current of Protestant life, nor formed an antagonistic tide like the Roman Catholics. They have no close or cordial connection with the Evangelical Alliance, nor sympathy with its objects. The great body of them have no bonds of fellowship with other Protestants; their pulpits are not open to other ministers; their altars are not free to other communicants. They believe that they constitute the true Church of Christ, and that the rest of Protestantism is

made up of sects more or less steeped in error, with whom fellowship would be dangerous. They are not more separate from the world than from other denominations. They have no part or representation in our general literature, nor have they developed an extensive denominational literature of their own to carry their influence beyond their ecclesiastical limits. If, therefore, they have not received the attention to which their numbers,* their work, and their importance entitle them, it will not require long or difficult search to find the causes; nor do the causes involve a lack of due regard for the obligations of Christian fellowship by other denominations. These obligations are more generally and conscientiously recognized in this age of the Evangelical Alliance than in any age, perhaps, since the days of the early Church, and it would be a reproach to our Protestant Christianity if such sturdy defenders of our common faith as are the Lutherans should be made to feel unwelcome in association with the Evangelical Churches. Their isolation is of their own choice. For reasons which to them are good and sufficient, the majority of Lutherans in the United States have decided that fellowship with other denominations is neither to be sought nor accepted; that it is neither a duty nor a privilege; and that it offers no advantages so indispensable as the approval of their own consciences. There is a minority, however, represented by the General Synod, who, though distinctively Lutheran, believe that pure Lutheranism can be preserved without absolute withdrawal from association with other branches of the Church of Christ. Dr. S. S. Schmucker helped heartily in organizing the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and Dr. F. W. Conrad † bore fraternal greetings to the National Congregational Council held some years ago in Detroit; and the body to which they belonged—the General Synod—has officially declared (1869) that its "principles not merely allow, but demand, fraternal relations with all Evangelical Christians."

Lutherans were among the earliest immigrants to our shores. Only a few years after the landing of the Pilgrims, followers of the great German reformer began to arrive in New York

* They aggregate nearly 740,000.

† Dr. Schmucker is dead; Dr. Conrad is editor of the oldest Lutheran journal in this country, "The Lutheran Observer," published in English in Philadelphia.

from Holland; but their countrymen of the Reformed faith were not at all tolerant, and sought to suppress their worship by fines and imprisonment. It was Dutch against Dutch, and we may be sure that the weaker party was no more willing to yield than was the dominant party to tolerate. Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, of the Reformed faith, wrote, in 1657, of the arrival in New Amsterdam of the Rev. John E. Goetwater, Lutheran, to the "especial discontent and disappointment of the congregation of this place." Owing to this fact, Mr. Goetwater's stay was short. Nevertheless, "the snake," as the dominies wickedly called the Lutheran faith, was "already" in their "bosom," and, in spite of their efforts to remove it, it remained there till the English conquest of 1664, when its right to a permanent lodgment was conceded and protected. Twenty years before Goetwater's fruitless voyage to New Amsterdam, a colony of Swedish Lutherans had been planted on the shores of the Delaware, and they had built the first Lutheran church in America in Fort Christina, (Wilmington, Del.,) a year after their arrival.* Other and smaller colonies settled at various dates along the Atlantic coast. Thus the Lutheran form of worship was used in the earliest Protestant settlements in our country, and our respected co-religionists are honorably connected with the first chapters of the history of the people of America. The first Lutheran pastor in the colonies was the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, who served the Fort Christina congregation from 1638 to 1643;† and the first ordination took place in 1703. It was about this time that the German immigration began. Previously the Lutheran colonists had come chiefly from Holland and Sweden. With the advent of the Germans began those difficulties with which the builders at Babel were confused and disheartened—difficulties from which the Lutheran communion has not been free for an instant, from which they have suffered almost incomputable losses, and against which they are contending now. When Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who is

* Dr. H. E. Jacobs, paper on "History and Progress of the Lutheran Church in the United States." Proceedings of First Free Lutheran Diet. J. F. Smith, Philadelphia, 1878.

† It is claimed that the second pastor, Campanius, was the first Protestant to preach to the Indians.

sometimes called the Father of the American Lutheran Church, arrived from Europe in the seventeenth century, he found congregations scattered from Maine to the Carolinas, and composed of such heterogeneous elements, in some instances, that the pastor was required to preach in the Dutch, German, Swedish, and English tongues. Muhlenberg's work was chiefly a work of organization, of supervision, of unification, and of revivification. Colonists, absorbed in the arduous duties of creating homes for themselves, providing for their families, and protecting their persons and possessions from sudden destruction, needed to be pressed to the performance of their religious obligations. He had the assistance of able and zealous men from Halle, and together they organized the first synod, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1748. The Swedes and Germans, however, did not coalesce, and as the demand for English preaching increased in the Swedish population beyond the possible supply, it became quite common, in some neighborhoods, to secure the occasional services of pastors of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Indeed, the relations between the two denominations were of a very fraternal and intimate character. Lutherans performed many pleasant offices for their Episcopal friends; but the result was the incorporation, finally, of the Swedish Lutheran Churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware* into the Protestant Episcopal Church, with whose form of government that of the Church of Sweden was in substantial agreement. "Episcopal ministers first became the assistants of the Lutheran pastors. The charters were first altered so as to allow the services of either Lutheran or Episcopal pastors; and the Lutheran name at length disappeared altogether." † The Swedes had been disappointed in procuring an episcopacy of their own, and the measures employed to bring them into a union with the Germans were probably not purely persuasive. It is remarkable that Dr. Krauth and others seek to explain these interchanges of denominational courtesy, which are not at all in fashion now, in such a way as to vindicate the Lutheranism of the Fathers, and the present position of the stricter schools. They say the idea prevailed in that period, on both sides, that the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal Churches were in accord on fundamentals, and differed only in nationality and

* The Rev. C. F. Welden in First Free Lutheran Diet. † Dr. Jacobs.

language; and the Lutherans, in admitting Episcopal ministers to the functions of pastors in their churches, simply acted on that idea. It seems strange that it should be deemed necessary to find some motive for these acts other than the natural one of Christian brotherliness; but this would not be regarded as good Lutheranism by the stricter Lutherans. But what are we to think of the further explanation that it was thought in those times that Lutheranism "needed no future in [the] English language,"* and therefore as fast as the Swedes became Americanized they recognized the Episcopal communion as their church home. This was not Lutheranism such as prevails to-day; it was simply apostasy.

This question of language has been a sorely troublesome one, as I have already said, from the first almost till now, and the most disastrous results have been caused by obstinate adherence to the German tongue. The Germans were proud of their language, and were so fondly attached to it that some of them even entertained the absurd idea of giving it to their adopted country. The ritual, the confession, the catechism, the literature of their religion, were in the language in which Luther wrote with the ability, the skill, and the grace of a master. They believed, as we have already seen, that Lutheranism had a peculiar and inseparable connection with the German; and they could not see how their faith could be successfully voiced in the English. It surely must lose something of its power, purity, and glory in the translation. They thought that if they could retain the language of their native country, their religion could also be retained and perpetuated, and thus lasting and tender ties to scenes and associations in the dear old Fatherland would be formed. It was a fond, fascinating dream from which there has been a sorrowful awakening. They could rigorously insist that the services in their churches should be wholly in the German; in some localities where they were in the majority they could even have the teaching in the public schools in that tongue; but while their children studied in German, worshiped in German in the church, and recited the catechism in German, they had playmates who spoke English, and they learned and used it in spite of all precautions. When they were old enough to go into business they found it

* Dr. C. P. Krauth in First Free Lutheran Diet.

indispensable. The result was heavy losses to the Church. Those who had become Americanized would not use one language in family and business relations during the week and go to church to hear service in another on Sunday. They naturally sought churches in which there was English preaching. If there had not been a constant influx of immigrants from Germany Lutheranism would have disappeared in America.* The struggle between the English and German elements in the churches became a determined one at the beginning of the present century. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which was then one of three synods, gave notice to those who were constantly demanding that preaching in English should be provided, that it must continue to be a German-speaking synod, and would entertain no proposition making necessary the use of any other language in its meetings and transactions. This was in 1805. In the following year the first English Church in Pennsylvania was established by a secession from a German congregation in Philadelphia where the seceders had been repeatedly voted down in their efforts to secure English service. The Anglicizing process had gone on more rapidly in the synod of New York, in which there was a considerable Dutch element and few recent German immigrants. It was almost entirely English as early as 1815.† But even after the eyes of the Germans were opened to the inevitable, they could not gracefully yield; they would not say to those who thought it too much to be asked to learn the German for the special purpose of church worship, "Go in peace, and God's blessing go with you; form English congregations, and we will help you all we can." They needs must show a hostile spirit. There were some very bitter contests, and the English worshipers were treated like renegades. Even yet there is considerable feeling in some of the general bodies against those who abandon the German. Mr. D. Luther, in a paper read in the First Free Lutheran Diet, (1877,) says that this opposition "has in a great measure ceased," but he adds:

> English Lutheran churches have greatly multiplied and grown strong; German churches have also greatly increased and prospered. But why this continued jealousy and hostility? Why this never-ending and bitter controversy with which our weekly

* Dr. C. P. Krauth, in First Free Lutheran Diet. † Dr. Jacobs.

and monthly publications are so filled? Why these numerous divisions, these rival institutions and agencies, to carry on the work of the Church? You may cry Peace, Peace, but there is no peace; the corroding ulcer, though cicatrized, is not healed. . . . . For upward of one hundred years has the Church in this country bled and suffered from it; for all that long time has it been agitated, distracted, and divided.

The German Reformed Church has suffered considerable losses in the same way; and the English-speaking denominations have received into their respective folds thousands upon thousands of members who are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants belonging chiefly to the Lutheran Communion. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a German-speaking and Scandinavian constituency of 52,500 members, besides the thousands who are a generation or two removed from Germany and Lutheranism and mingle indistinguishably with the masses of the Church. The Presbyterians, the Baptists, and other denominations have likewise a large number of German communicants, and there are also bodies like the Evangelical Association, the United Brethren-in Christ, the Church of God, the Tunkers, etc., which have built themselves up with the German element at the expense chiefly of the Lutheran Church. I do not suppose, however, that these losses have occurred through active proselytism. The opposition to English preaching among the German Lutherans drove no inconsiderable number, as we have already seen, into other churches; others came naturally under the influence of Episcopalianism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc., and yielded to it; and many were found in a neglected condition spiritually, and gathered in by missionaries. They have been cordially welcomed into all the Churches, and are recognized as most faithful, devoted, and (though generally poor) liberal members.

It has been the misfortune of the Lutherans to have a very inadequate ministerial force. In the colonial days they looked to Europe for pastors, and societies were formed to supply the demand, but their resources were insufficient, and many flocks were broken up and scattered because there were no shepherds for them. They were in a land, in the language of an appeal to Halle, in 1773, "full of sects and heresy, without ministers and teachers, schools, churches, and books." Those who volunteered to come found the field a hard one. The congrega-

tions were poor, and a pastor could not expect to confine his ministrations to any one of them; he must serve several. The prospect of providing endowed institutions to train young men for the ministry was, at any time during last century, a very dim one. The immigrants were largely of the peasant class, and could not raise the necessary funds. Toward the close of last century a one-third interest was secured in Franklin College, Lancaster; but attachment to the German operated almost as strongly as poverty against the founding of any great institution, and the Church had neither college nor seminary under its control, save the Hartwick Seminary, in New York, begun in 1815, "until full twenty-five years of the present century had elapsed." * It was half a century after the first ordination (1703) before a second was put upon record, and licentiates were numerous at no time in that century. If ministers could have been produced in sufficient numbers it is doubtful if many could have been supported. Only fifty years ago the president of the Synod of Virginia, speaking of the many destitute congregations, said an increase of ministers could give no relief, for "our ministers are literally beggared as soon as they let go their secular resources and throw themselves upon the bounty of the Church." † This bit of Lutheran history is not at all unlike chapters in the annals of other denominations in this country. The two Reformed Churches—the Dutch and German—the Presbyterian, the Episcopal, and other communions, suffered for want of an adequate ministerial supply which Holland, Germany, England, and Scotland could not furnish, but they were able to open training institutions to meet this want long before the Lutherans were delivered from their difficulties. Methodism came forward at a critical time in the religious history of the country with a system admirably, nay, providentially, fitted for the exigency. What would that history have been without the abounding successes of Wesley's followers?

The synodical system, which began with the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1748, developed slowly

* President Sadtler, of Muhlenberg College, in a paper read before Second Free Lutheran Diet, held in 1878. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1879.

† The Lutheran Church in Virginia. The Rev. D. M. Gilbert, Newmarket, Va., 1876. Pp. 33, 34.

until the formation of the General Synod in 1820, in which four synods were concerned. The need of some central body to draw the churches, through their respective synods, closer together; to promote unity in doctrine and practice; and to devise measures for the protection and development of the general interests of the denomination, was pressing; but these objects could not be fully secured because the co-operation was not complete. There were two synods which did not unite in the organization of the General Synod. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew in 1823, in deference to the fear of its congregations that there was to be an increase of ecclesiastical power; in 1825 it was divided; in 1853 it returned to the General Synod; in 1864 it withdrew; in 1866 it helped to organize the General Council; it has also passed through many other vicissitudes. Other synods have a similar history. Now they are in association, now independent; controversy arises and division follows; new synods come into existence and others go out; some withdraw from one general body to join another; now two synods quarrel with each other; now they unite in one. Amid all these bewildering changes one principle may be considered to have been firmly established: that of the sovereignty of the synods; and we get a faint idea of the confusion which would follow in the political world the adoption of the doctrine of State rights. The General Synod has, at no time since its organization, represented the whole Church; nor, as a matter, of course, has any of the other general bodies; but for a period of about forty-five years it had the support of the majority of the churches and ministers. At the time of its greatest numerical strength, 1860, it had two-thirds of the Lutheran communicants in the country, or 164,000 out of 245,000. The remaining 81,000 were divided among independent synods, each of which believed that it more nearly represented true Lutheranism than the General Synod or any of its fellow synods. In the decade following 1860, the General Synod suffered severely from two distinct divisions which reduced its membership to 86,000 out of 350,000. The first was not a very serious division. It was caused by the civil war, and resulted in the organization of the General Synod, (South.) which has never counted more than 19,000 members. The second division marks an epoch in the history of American

Lutheranism, and deserves careful consideration. To get a proper understanding of it we must go back far enough to strike the two tendencies leading to the separation at a point near their origin.

I have said little about the doctrinal phases of early Lutheranism in this country. The episode of the loss of the Swedish churches, and the general opposition to the English tongue, were given as one of the results of a narrow view of the character and destiny of Lutheranism; but they also have a doctrinal significance. It was held that Luther had, under divine guidance, perfected a doctrinal, catechetical, and liturgical system which explained and expressed the truth of Scripture fully and faithfully, and that in the German and its cognates only could the teachings of this system be adequately and accurately imparted. They saw that many denominations used the English, and they honestly believed that it produced the sects and the heresy with which they were surrounded. They had an intense desire that the Church, as Luther left it, should be handed down to their descendants, and be preserved forever in its purity. They resisted, therefore, the influences of English churches, society, language, and literature as long as possible; and when they saw that defeat was inevitable they began to yield on the question of language, but cultivated assiduously a stricter adherence to the doctrines of the Church, and a more exclusive denominationalism. The spirit of this tendency has been, from the first, of a foreign character. The other tendency may be considered as American in its type. There were some who broke early and easily with the traditions and tongue of the fatherland, and not only accepted American institutions, political and social, but allowed themselves to be influenced in their religious ideas by the views of the people with whom they were surrounded. When Whitefield and the Tennents were rousing the Churches with their revival meetings, these Lutherans did not regard them as dangerous fanatics; but some of the stricter confessionalists of the present refer with no feeling of satisfaction to the participation of ministers of other denominations in Lutheran services. There were, of course, but few Lutheran books in the English, and consequently Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist literature found its way into Lutheran homes, and was one of

the influences which broke down denominational exclusivism, and created a considerable degree of friendship, and even fellowship, between Lutherans and other Christians. The Ministerium of New York was the first to yield to these influences, and to abate the requirements of strict Lutheranism. Though synodical constitutions usually made the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession a binding obligation, that of New York, adopted in 1816, only required as a condition of ordination that the candidate promise to teach faithfully, perform other ministerial duties, and regulate his "walk and conversation" according to the Gospel. The Lutheranism of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was also called in question several years later, and there were practices in other synods which were considered very lax by stricter bodies, like the Tennessee synod. It is a striking proof of the growth of what some Lutheran writers call "church consciousness," that both of these ministeriums are now marshaled with the stricter party represented by the General Council, and regard the General Synod as lacking in churchliness. The differences in spirit, doctrine, and practice between the two parties whose development I have tried to follow proceed from differences of view in respect to the character of the Augsburg Confession and the form of subscription thereto. The General Synod, which has shown from the first the liberalizing effects of American influences, while it has never failed in attachment to the Augsburg Confession, has regarded it as a human production liable to human errors, and hence has not thought it right to demand an unconditional acceptance of it. For many years its formulary of subscription ran thus: "We believe that the fundamental doctrines of God's word are taught in a manner substantially correct in the Augsburg Confession." In 1864 it admitted to membership the Franckean Synod of New York, which, by the stricter party, was regarded as un-Lutheran and positively heretical, on condition of its acceptance, at its next meeting, of "the doctrinal articles of the Confession as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's word." It had already adopted the constitution of the General Synod, but the stricter party were not satisfied with this, and would have refused it admission until it had formally adopted the Confession. The resolution granting admission was carried, and the

result was a division. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew, and two years later assisted in the organization of the General Council, which, at its first meeting, in 1866, embraced eleven synods. By this division the General Synod lost nearly half its members, and a new and powerful Lutheran body came into existence. According to the statistics of 1882, the General Council has ten synods, with 191,325 members. Two others which maintain a semi-independent relation have 32,000 members not included above. The General Synod embraces 23 synods, with 124,798 members.

The confessional basis of the General Council is quite strict, though, as we shall see presently, there is another organization which occupies far more advanced ground. This basis not only accepts the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, but accepts the doctrines of the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession *in its original sense;* declares it to be in perfect accordance with the canonical Scriptures, and rejects the errors it condemns. The other Lutheran symbols are also accepted as pure and scriptural statements of doctrine, namely, the Apology, the Schmalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord. Upon so strict a platform, and with a steadily increasing foreign constituency of a strict tendency, the Council has made considerable advances toward exclusivism. Some years ago it adopted a rule intended as a guard to the purity of its Lutheranism, declaring that "Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only, Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." When it was seen subsequently that this rule applied directly to the friendly relations which had long been maintained between the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania and an old synod of the Reformed (German) Church there was opposition to its enforcement, and the General Council for many years has been inquiring whether the rule is to be received in an "absolute" or "educative" sense; and Dr. C. P. Krauth, regarded as the ablest Lutheran writer in the United States, by official appointment prepared a series of 105 theses* on this simple question. As the General Council can only discuss and dispose of two or three of these theses at each annual session, the world may have to wait until some time in the first half of the next century for a final

* Published in Philadelphia in 1877 in pamphlet.

decision. The Council includes two parties or tendencies, the stricter of which, under the lead of Dr. Krauth,* would renounce all fellowship with those not bearing the Lutheran name, also with those who do bear it if their Lutheranism is not of the approved sort.

The General Synod has felt in some degree the force of the influences under which the General Council was developed, and its confessional basis now declares acceptance of the Augsburg Confession "as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines," etc.; the word "substantially," which, in the old formulary, qualified "correct," having been eliminated. It does not, however, insist that its ministers shall accept the Confession as though it were divinely inspired. Dr. Ziegler, President of the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove, Pa., declared in the Second Free Lutheran Diet that he could not accept the doctrines he understood the Confessions to teach of infant baptismal regeneration, and the real presence and oral reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and others of the General Synod defended its tolerant position. It is American in spirit, thought, and usage; it believes in revivals of religion and the temperance reform; it believes in fellowship with other denominations, and in great benevolences like the Tract and Bible Societies. According to Dr. Jacobs' estimate, nine tenths of its members are descendants of immigrants of last century, while less than one half of the General Council are of this class.

The immigration from Germany and Scandinavia in the last twenty-five or thirty years has been of vast proportions. People from these countries have come to us by the hundred thousand, settling in the cities of the East, and pouring a steady stream into our Western States and Territories. In the opening of the vast country lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains these immigrants are yeomen doing yeomen's service. They are largely of the peasant class, and find in their adopted country opportunities and possibilities such as they never dreamed of in the fatherland. The nation welcomes them most cordially. They bring little wealth with

* See Krauth's "Religion and Religionisms," pamphlet published in Philadelphia in 1877. Also his paper before First Lutheran Diet on "Relations of Lutheran Church to the Denominations Around Us."

them, but they bring what is really of greater value—industry, honesty, thrift, and strength of hand, of heart, and of will. What if they do adhere to the customs of their native land, and are, as some tell us, like colonies of eighteenth century people living in the midst of the civilization of the nineteenth century? What if they are strangers to modern appliances and methods of agriculture? What if they are ignorant peasants, obstinate and prejudiced? Their antiquated notions and customs, their ignorance and their prejudices, will vanish, for they are in a school where they cannot choose but be learners. They must mingle ere long indistinguishably in the great nation which receives and assimilates from all sources.

This rich and full-flowing tide of population has affected the census of the American Lutheran Church as wonderfully as it has the census of the country. We must remember this very significant fact: that the Lutherans have been fully employed in taking care of their own. They have not sought, either by their home mission agencies or the ordinary congregational methods, to reach the general population. Their English work has been solely among immigrants and descendants of immigrants chiefly of their own faith, and the utmost of their desire, probably, is to save what belongs to them. It is apparent, therefore, that, exclusive of the direct increase by the immigration of the past twenty-five or thirty years, the natural gains, for reasons already stated, were not exceptionally large. The Lutherans have not yet been able to make their statistical work an exact science,* but their figures are sufficiently correct for the purposes of this article. Let us see how they have increased since 1825:

	Communicants.		Communicants.
1825.....	43,125	1865.....	310,677
1835.....	60,791 †	1875.....	559,119
1845.....	135,629	1882.....	738,302
1855.....	200,000 ‡		

It will be seen from this table that the gain of the last seven years is 179,183, or about 25,600 a year. The gain for the

* The sources for statistical information are: "Lutherische Kalender," Allentown, Pa.; "Church Almanac," Lutheran Book Store, Philadelphia; "Lutheran Almanac," Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia; "Evangelical Lutheran Almanac," Columbus, O.

† These figures are for 1834. ‡ For 1853.

preceding decade ending in 1875 was 248,442, or about 24,850 a year. In the last seventeen years, therefore, the Lutherans have been increasing at the rate of 25,000 a year, and may now rightfully claim to stand fourth in the order of numerical strength among the Protestant denominational families of this country.

The benefits of this immigration have not been enjoyed by the General Synod, for I have already stated that only one tenth of that body is estimated as foreign by Dr. Jacobs; nor has the General Synod, South, been increased by them. The General Council has had a large share of them, its constituency being more than one half foreign. This body is trying an experiment which is attended with great difficulties; it is endeavoring to serve the interests of Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and English-speaking members, and to bind them together under a common bond. The independent synods are chiefly composed of foreign-born communicants. They aggregate, exclusive of the Ohio Synod, more than 66,000, but it will require too much space to describe them. The great bulk of Lutheran immigration has gone to swell the rising numbers of the Synodical Conference, which represents the highest development to which Lutheranism has attained in this or any other country. This body, which was organized so late as 1872, consists almost entirely of immigrants, its native-born members not exceeding perhaps one-twentieth * of its communicants, who number, according to the returns for 1882, no less than 298,389. † Including baptized infants and catechumens, the Conference, in 1881, had 554,505 souls, distributed among six synods. Two of the synods—those of Missouri and Ohio—called Joint Synods, are peculiar. The Missouri Joint Synod extends over a large part of the country, and is divided into twelve districts. The Ohio Joint Synod also embraces a large territory and consists of five districts. This peculiarity is due to the fact that these bodies had existed previously as independent synods—that of Ohio for fifty-four years, and that of Missouri for twenty-five—and, representing certain types of Lutheranism, had extended themselves beyond the ordinary limits of synodical organization.

* Dr. H. E. Jacobs. † The Columbus "Almanac" still includes the Ohio Synod though it has withdrawn from the Synodical Conference.

It will be necessary, in order to understand the history and position of the Synodical Conference, to give particular attention to the origin and development of the Synod of Missouri, which dominates in the Conference, and represents a type of Lutheranism which is not only known throughout the Communion in this country as "Missourian," but is much talked of in Europe under the same title. Early in the present century there began in different parts of Germany, especially in Saxony, a reaction among the Lutherans against the Rationalism that was paralyzing the Church. In 1817 the present State Church of Prussia was organized by the union of the Reformed and Lutheran communions against the earnest opposition of a very small minority of Lutherans. The revival of strict Lutheranism to which I have referred was not only in protest against Rationalism, but against "Unionism," as it was called, a horrible thing equivalent to apostasy from the truth. Those holding these views were gathered into congregations, and were so thoroughly convinced that they alone were contending for pure Lutheranism that they were ready to make great sacrifices; so when Pastor Stephan, of Dresden, after some persecution, declared that emigration was the only resource left for the preservation of the faith, seven hundred persons, including several pastors, accepted his scheme and sailed for America near the close of 1838. They settled in Perry County and St. Louis, Mo. Stephan was their acknowledged leader, and exacted and received unquestioning obedience, not only in spiritual matters, but in all the affairs of the colony, which had a common treasury. His rule was well nigh ruinous; and when he was charged with gross immorality and expelled it was found that he had not only administered the office of governor injudiciously, but he had taught doctrines consistent, not with Lutheranism, but with Catholicism. In 1841 the Rev. C. F. W. Walther became pastor of the congregation in St. Louis, and set himself to work to repair the injuries done by Stephan, and counteract the effects of his false teachings. Pastor Walther proved to be a wise leader, and in forty years he has seen the reduced and impoverished company of immigrants become the strongest and most influential synod in the United States, embracing 150,000 communicants, and constituting the center of a body reporting, in 1881, nearly

292,000 members. The synod was organized in 1847, and began at once to establish institutions for the training of ministers, and to foster congregational schools for the education of the children. Soon, also, it entered into the publishing business, and has multiplied its influence by its literature and by other activities, attracting attention to its type of Lutheranism by its controversies; and drawing into its congregations thousands upon thousands of immigrants settling within its widely extended bounds. A striking evidence of its rapidity of growth is the fact that in 1864 it had but 30,000 members, and has therefore increased fivefold in eighteen years.

After the organization of the General Council efforts were made to induce the Synod of Missouri to join it. The Council had, as we have seen, taken high confessional ground, but it was not prepared to advance to the position which the Synods of Missouri and Ohio desired it to take. The form of subscription to the symbols was satisfactory; but only a small minority of the Council were willing to make of the "four points" in dispute a test of membership. The Council expressed a modified condemnation of Chiliasm, (millenarianism,) secret societies, the admission of non-Lutheran ministers to Lutheran pulpits, and of non-Lutheran communicants to Lutheran altars; but it refused to make its testimony against these errors positive prohibition. The Missouri and Ohio Synods, together with the Wisconsin and Norwegian Synods, were not only at one with regard to these four points, but would not admit the force of the distinction drawn by the General Council between heretics and "fundamental errorists." Heretics were those, the Council said, who deny doctrines fundamental to the *existence* of Christianity, and there could be no fellowship with them; but "fundamental errorists" were those who deny doctrines "fundamental to the complete *integrity* of Christianity," or, in other words, deny some part or parts of the Lutheran faith. Against those it would raise no impassable law to fellowship. The synods would not only exclude heretics and "fundamental errorists," but all Lutherans not of the orthodox type.* It was evident, therefore, that they must form a new

* Dr. L. A. Gottwald, of the General Synod, writing in 1877 of a visit to the institutions of the Missouri Synod said the Missourians would not admit him to their pulpits or altars.

Conference or continue as independent synods holding relations with one another as orthodox Lutherans.

Out of this condition of things came the Synodical Conference in 1872, beyond which, it would seem, there can be no further development in Confessionalism. The form of subscription in use by its synods is as strict as words can make it. Take, for example, the constitution of the Ohio Synod. It declares that pastors must, "without reservation, accept all the symbolical books," "not *so far as*, [the italics are not mine,] but *because*, they contain the pure, unadulterated explanation and exposition of God's word;" and that they "must renounce all kinds of unionism and syncretism, such as pastoral ministrations to heterodox or mixed congregations as such; exchange of pulpits and altar fellowship with errorists; participation in the worship and sacramental acts of such congregations; taking part in the missionary and tract operations of errorists and unionists, and also secret societies and the like." The position of the Synodical Conference on this question of fellowship, as defined in 1873, is that inasmuch as the unaltered Augsburg Confession "sets forth the pure and uncorrupted word of God positively and negatively," and the consciences of all Lutherans are bound by it, no congregation or ecclesiastical body is orthodox Lutheran that does not receive the words of this Confession both as they teach truth and reject errors. The stringency of the requirements would seem to indicate that they regard the Confession infallible as divine writ; and it is possible that the statement is true which I have seen attributed to them: "We do not interpret the Confession according to the Scriptures, but the Scriptures according to the Confession."

It might be supposed that the symbols so highly exalted and so rigidly prescribed to pastor and people were considered sufficient to guide the willing conscience fully and safely without modern additions; but such is not the fact. Conferences and synods have been constantly engaged in raising new questions and giving new definitions for the acceptance of their constituents. Controversy as a means of defending, defining, and discovering truth is held in high regard. By far the larger portion of a history* of the Synod of Missouri, which I have had before me in writing this article, is occupied in describing

* Published serially in the "Lutheran Standard," Columbus, O., in 1879.

the controversies in which that body has been engaged; and the author devotes much space to showing how salutary controversy is. He says the opposition to doctrinal controversies is the fruit of a "unionistic, indifferentistic spirit which cowardly flees every controversy, surrounding itself with the garb of so-called piety and godliness; but this piety and godliness is false; it is but the scales of the old dragon." With an evident pride he speaks of the private and public controversies which have been carried on in the district synods and conferences of the Missouri Synod, so numerous that volumes would be required to describe them; for there is not, he supposes, "a single doctrine in the whole field of theology, besides many not properly in this field, which they have not discussed and treated at length." With rare relish he approaches the description of the more notable of these controversies: "The lion of our tribe is awake; he goes forth in the pride of his youth; the earth trembles at his voice and his adversaries flee from his presence." It is hardly probable that in using the figure of a "roaring lion" he had in mind 1 Peter v, 8. Abundant evidence is given in the course of his history that these controversies were not like the cooing of turtle-doves. When the Missourians were contending with the Iowa, Buffalo, and other synods, the disputants were terribly in earnest if we may judge by the forcible language they used in defense of sound doctrine. They did not hesitate to brand one another as liars, as dishonest, as false teachers, etc. The Buffalo Synod spoke of the Synod of Missouri as "Ahab's Synod," the "Chicago College of Evil Repute," and the "Abominable Synod;" but I have not been permitted to see whether the Missourians had choicer terms to hurl back. The internal controversies which are regarded as a means of growth in knowledge of the truth, if not in grace, must have been of a less disturbing character than the inter-synodical, or divisions would have been more plentiful. It is strange, when we consider to what a severe analytical treatment each point of doctrine is subjected, that so great a degree of harmony has been maintained. This is to be accounted for, probably, by the fact of a common doctrinal basis in the symbols whose statements have usually furnished the theme, and which have always been, as a source of appeal, absolutely conclusive. All were agreed in accepting every utter-

ance of the confession, and if a discussion led into deep waters it was always easy to return to safe footing on the immovable standards. The object in view appears to be to reclaim and annex border lands to the high ground of confessional truth; in other words, to use the language of another synod, "to labor on the basis of the symbols, with the word of God in hand, for a greater completion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." The idea of "open questions" is scouted as full of "dangerous leaven." The word of God is not obscure, and no question can be regarded as belonging to the sphere of liberty for which light may be had from the Scriptures.

Among the notable controversies of recent years is one on the doctrine of predestination. This has not been as harmless in results as other discussions apparently were, but has rent, as we shall presently see, the Synodical Conference in twain, and wrought ruin and confusion in many a congregation. Some time ago the theological faculty of St. Louis put forth a series of thirteen theses on election on the basis of the eleventh article of the Formula of Concord. Periodicals of other synods in the Synodical Conference discussed the theses, and some declared that they taught Calvinistic, and hence un-Lutheran, doctrine. The Missourians resented these charges, and a sharp controversy took place. Last May the Synod of Missouri formally adopted the theses, and declared that its delegates would not sit in the Synodical Conference with men who had called them Calvinists, or with representatives of any synod which had applied that name to them. This action was equivalent to withdrawing fellowship from the Synod of Ohio, which had opposed the theses, and that body accordingly decided not to send delegates to the Synodical Conference which was to meet in October. It was expected that the Synod of Wisconsin would likewise withdraw, and that some other synods would not be fully represented. Meantime numerous pastoral conferences have been held to discuss the doctrine, with varying results, some siding with the Missourians and some with their opponents, whom the venerable dictator of the Missourian Synod, Prof. C. F. W. Walther, condemned on the floor of his synod "to the lowest pit of hell." Synods and congregations are being drawn asunder, and it is impossible to estimate the extent of the mischief done until the

process of division shall have been completed. What are the differences which the Missourians regard as important enough to justify such results? The principal one is this: the Missouri Synod holds, the Ohio Synod denies, that God was moved to choose the elect, not by foresight of faith, or any good in them, but by his grace and the merits of Christ alone. The leaders of the Ohio Synod declared that if the Missourians would allow them to interpret the thirteen theses they could accept them. The reply was that the language used was plain, and must be accepted without reservation or explanation.*

On just such trifling matters as this the Lutherans of the stricter schools have wasted their time in controversy, destroying their harmony, stirring up bitter feelings, provoking strife, and leading to estrangements and divisions. There is little in this method of propagating the Gospel which accords with the spirit of Christianity as generally understood in the present age, and its results as seen in the Lutheran communion are not such as to give assurance that it is the divine plan. Their conception of the Christian religion is of a system of intellectual truth to be imparted and apprehended by intellectual processes. To know the doctrine, to hear the Word, to receive the sacraments, is to be a Christian believer. This truth they divide into dogmatic statements, from each of which branches of inquiry run far into the domain of metaphysics. Here is often the battle-ground where the hardest fights are fought and the greatest havoc wrought. The synodical Lutherans set forth their views of exegesis of the Scriptures in twenty-two theses, and of conversion in ninety-two. In this way they go over the whole field of theology and create a body of divinity which, perhaps, is without a parallel. They interpret Scripture by a strictly literal method which brings them often to strange conclusions. For example, they are said to hold that in the apostolic days the Gospel was preached to every kindred, tribe, and tongue on this terrestrial ball—to Norsemen, Chinamen, East Indians, Bushmen, Esquimaux, etc.—basing this belief on St. Paul's saying: "Their sound went into

* The Missouri side of the controversy is presented by Prof. Walther in two pamphlets: "The Controversy Concerning Predestination;" "The Doctrine Concerning Election." Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1881. The other side is to be found in pamphlets on "Predestination," by Profs. Stellhorn and Schuette respectively. Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, O., 1881.

all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." They also declare that the New Testament plainly teaches that when the communicant receives the elements with the "mouth" he "eats and drinks the body and blood" of Christ.* and they show why Christ's words, "Take, eat, this is my body," etc., cannot be used figuratively. In the phrase "this is my body," the word *this*, as they reason,† cannot be figurative; nor is it possible for the verb *is* to be figurative. The figure is always found "either in the subject or the predicate, most generally the latter;" but when the Saviour adds the words, "which is given for you," to the word "body," it is plain that he refers to his real body. "As it was not a figurative body that was given for us on the cross, so it is not a figurative body which is given to us in the Holy Supper." They go on to lay down this exegetical rule: "Whenever the Holy Scriptures use figurative language we must get at its real meaning by means of other passages which are undoubtedly to be understood in a literal sense;" and they ask, with an air of triumph, if the words "this is my body" are figurative, "where is the passage in which the meaning of those words is expressed in language containing no figure?" They clinch the whole argument with this sentence: "To assert that the words of institution are to be understood figuratively is to assert that Christ could not express himself in an intelligent manner."

It might be inferred from such glimpses as have been given of these Lutherans of the Synodical Conference that they do not represent a very high degree of culture. Fuller acquaintance with them would make of this inference a demonstrable fact. They shun science as they would heresy. They dislike American schools and colleges, and isolate themselves as much as possible, having their parochial schools for their children, and their own colleges and theological seminaries, in all of which indoctrination in Lutheranism is the chief object. In the small English constituency of the Ohio Synod, the Sunday-school is one of the few American institutions regarded with favor. The convention of the English District gave authority in 1880 for the establishment of Sunday-schools under strict regulations, providing, among other things, that only such

* Minutes of English District of Ohio Synod for 1879, Columbus, O., pp. 29, 30.

† Minutes of the English District of Ohio Synod for 1880, pp. 17, 18.

books and periodicals shall be used, besides the Bible, as set forth the truth contained in the Confessions. The list prescribed includes only a Lutheran primer and two Lutheran papers, Luther's small catechism, Dietrich's catechism, "Bible Narratives," by Weiskotten, and the Church Hymn-book. Certainly there is nothing in these to corrupt the Lutheranism of the children, if there is not much to attract them.

What is to be the end or stopping-place of this advancing school of thought? If it shall continue to grow in rigidness, will it not at last break in pieces? It has already excluded all Lutherans who are not of its own type; will it not begin to exclude those of its own ranks who may not be able to move on in theology as rapidly as its leaders? The policy of isolation must, sooner or later, break down utterly. The people will come in contact with American ideas and institutions, and refuse to follow in blind ignorance and prejudice their prelatical pastors; and the type of Lutheranism represented by the Missourians will, in time perhaps, be obliterated.

I have left myself no space to consider many other interesting phases and features of Lutheranism—its ritual and diversities in forms of worship; its system of church government; its educational institutions and periodical press; its missionary and benevolent work; the recent attempt to bring the general bodies closer together in a colloquium or diet, etc. But I will not close this article without calling attention to what has been done, under difficult circumstances, to provide for the Church and its adherents colleges, seminaries, asylums, and periodicals. For higher education, there are sixteen colleges, two of which are called universities; twenty-eight academies; fifteen seminaries for young ladies; eighteen theological seminaries,* with

* Says Dr. M. Valentine, in a paper read before the First Free Lutheran Diet: These "schools represent and foster at least half a dozen types of what is claimed to be Lutheran theology; and varieties of these are shaded out, in some places, into minuter diversities. Even within the schools connected with the same general Lutheran organization divergences occur. The carrying on of our theological education in so many institutions, which are led, by their rivalries and jealousies, to magnify their typical differences, and overlook the points of their agreements, emphasizing all the diverse peculiarities on which partisanship feeds and grows, training, it may be, and inspiring skilled polemics rather than earnest servants of Christ and his truth, and sending them forth prepared to misconceive and misinterpret, but not to trust and love one another—this is something, it seems to me, that requires us to put a clear seal of condemnation upon this policy."—P. 159.

532 students; and nineteen orphan asylums, besides six hospitals and infirmaries. How many orphan asylums and hospitals has the Methodist Episcopal Church provided? Is not such a record as this a shame to us? Of periodical publications there is a formidable list. In the English there are thirty-six weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals; in the German thirty-eight; in the Norwegian fourteen; in the Swedish six; and four in the Danish.

Art. III.—A GLANCE AT THE LITERATURE OF SANSKRIT.

In a former article* we saw how the discovery of Sanskrit led to the classification of speech and the foundation of a scientific philology. We propose in the present paper to inquire a little further into its character and history, and particularly to glance at the principal monuments of its remarkable literature.

Probably the most of us are in the habit of thinking and speaking of Sanskrit as the oldest known language of Japhetic stock and connection. This is of course not true in the sense that it is of earlier development or origin: that is, that it evolved its characteristic and individual type as the language of a distinct people before the beginnings of the other Indo-European languages and tribes. We have already seen that the various Japhetic idioms owe the fact of being now so distinct and unlike to no other cause than the ancient separation of their respective clans or tribes of speakers, all of whom used, previous to this separation, substantially the same tongue. There is no evidence that the Aryan tribe, a part of which eventually found its way into India and developed the race and tongue called Sanskrit, was the earliest, or even one of the earliest, to part from the parent community; it may, indeed, have been the very last. Nor is there evidence that this people was the first to reach ideas worthy to found a literature. Yet is Sanskrit entitled to the epithet of "oldest" because it has preserved the earliest monuments of the Indo-European mind; also, because it was the first of its known

* In the issue for October, 1881.

sisterhood of speech to finish its career and become extinct. It is, therefore, only on this basis of classification that we have the right to mention the Zend (or Old Persian) after Sanskrit, as we usually do, and the Greek as third, in our enumeration of these languages.

Doubtless many of us, moreover, associate the Sanskrit with the Hebrew as the two old languages of the world. We remember that neither has been a spoken language for more than two thousand years, and that both have so abundantly survived the idioms of their day simply because they contain the scriptures of an ancient religion. This chance parallelism can be extended, if we will, a little further. They alone of all dead languages have continued to change and be changed, almost to grow, since their decease. It is supposed with truth that nothing can be more unalterable than a dead language. It would be utterly impossible to reform, for instance, the inflections of Latin, while copies of its authors are in everybody's hands. Yet if this had been attempted a thousand years ago by the authority of the Church, which then had exclusive possession of the manuscripts of Latin literature and sole charge of Latin instruction, it could perhaps have been accomplished. The amended idiom could have been both learned and taught as easily as true Latin, there being no natural life in either (or, rather, there being no such thing as usage, but only authority;) and the alteration of the manuscripts would not have been difficult. Something like this actually happened to Sanskrit and Hebrew after they ceased to be used as vernacular languages. They were still read, and in an artificial way spoken and written, much as the mediæval monks and prelates spoke and wrote Latin; but, perhaps from their being, unlike Latin, comparatively crude and unpolished idioms, they began to receive improvement. Exactly how much change was made, and in what way it was accomplished, it is difficult to determine: the Hebrew certainly received far less amendment than the Sanskrit. The Hebrew still continues to be called by the name of the race which spoke it: but Sanskrit ("elaborated" or "perfected") is a late invention, and was not applied as a designation of the language until the process of its remaking was so nearly accomplished that the pundits were ready to signalize their success. Therefore the

name Sanskrit, properly speaking, belongs, not to the whole literature, but only to its latest or classic portion, and to the latest or modern type of the language.

The whole body of Sanskrit literature is divided into three parts. The earliest or Vedic portion is as far removed from the classic type as the epic of Homer from Attic Greek. There is a like exuberance of vocabulary and unsteadiness in grammatical treatment, as compared with the later language. After the poems of the Veda had come to be looked upon as sacred, there began an age of devout study and commentation. Thus arose a vast body, so to speak, of "Fathers,"—the earliest and almost the only Sanskrit prose, written in a language more modern than the Vedic, yet not far removed from it. The literature of this second period, intermediate between the Vedic and the classical, is called Brāhmana. The rise of the so-called classical literature is involved in much obscurity, and was doubtless the outgrowth of many circumstances. The chief occasion, we may be reasonably sure, was the beginning of that scientific study of grammar in which the Brahmins eventually attained such eminence. By this time Sanskrit had entered upon its stage of decay as a vernacular tongue. Only the priestly caste adhered to it; the lower classes spoke Prakrit, a simpler and ruder idiom. Thus were the learned Brahmins enabled to reform and remold the sacred language according to their pleasure. They pruned away corrupt accretions, eliminated irregularities of inflection and structure, and in grammatical treatises of great subtlety formulated the rules and principles which should govern future usage. This work of reform and renovation ends with the grammarian Pānini, who lived, perhaps, in the third century before our era. The principal changes that have been made in Sanskrit since his day have been wrought in the literature, which has been brought into general conformity with his rules and standards.

Of the literature proper we will examine first the extensive maze of the classical period. Its richness is bewildering. There is poetry of every kind; there are works on law, scientific treatises—almost every department is full. We will follow the recognized order of development in other literatures, and inquire first for epic products. The chief is called the Mahā-Bhārata, and is almost a whole library in itself. It is, in fact,

not a consistent production like the "Iliad," devoted to a single theme. It may have been such in its first plan and execution; for this is one of those works which have come down from an earlier age and been thoroughly revised, one may say rewritten, in order to conform to the changes in the later grammar of Sanskrit. Not only has it suffered changes in grammar and style, but it has been thoroughly recast, distorted, and distended beyond all reason. Into it have been embodied many heterogeneous elements which have little to do with the main purpose of the poem. This appears to have been, judging it as we find it, to mass together under one title all the epic legends in the language. The Mahā-Bhārata ("Great War of the Bharatas") is the original legend, which has received the others and given its name to the whole collection. The incongruous additions are mostly moral tractates, inserted here and there at random for the edification of the warrior caste, for whose eye the poem, as a whole, appears to have been especially intended. One of the most important of these didactic episodes is the philosophical poem of the Bhagavad-gītā. This is undoubtedly of comparatively modern authorship, and though of eighteen chapters extent, is inserted like an ordinary interpolation at the twenty-fifth chapter of Bhīshma-parva, the sixth book of the poem. The name signifies the mystic doctrine proclaimed by Bhagavat, or Krishna. It is a dialogue between the hero Arjuna and the god Krishna, who is serving as his charioteer. It ranks among the most famous of the episodes, as embodying the principles of the Vedānta, or pantheistic philosophy of the Hindus, the most important of their systems. With true Hindu disregard of concinnity and consistency, it likewise admits certain principles of other philosophical systems, the Sankhya (atheistic) and the Yoga, (monotheistic,) equally at variance with the Vedānta and with each other. The Yoga doctrine bears resemblance in certain points to Christian theology, (as will be observed hereafter when we come to the department of philosophy,) and is by some conjectured to have been borrowed from that source.

Another very famous but very different episode of the Mahā-Bhārata, found inserted in the Vana-parva or third book, is the legend of Nala. It is more in keeping with the epic character of the poem than the preceding, though it is really a

romance of almost the modern conventional type. Nala is the name of the hero, who is king of Nishada. He is a hero indeed, handsome in person, possessed of all human accomplishments and virtues, and without vices except a fondness for gaming. For this he is spared the usual reprobation by the author, since he is "the friend of the dice," or always successful in play. This best of kings fitly espouses Damayantī, the fairest of princesses, who had refused alliance even with the gods. Kali, one of the unsuccessful deities, determines to ruin Nala in revenge. Long and patiently he watches for an opportunity, and not until twelve years have passed does he detect Nala in any fault—then only in the trifling neglect of a ceremonial ablution. But this is enough to subject him to the control of the fiendish spirit: Kali enters and possesses his soul. As the shortest road to ruin, Kali drives him to the dice. He loses his treasures, his chariots, his robes, his kingdom, and finally is driven forth to wander with his lovely queen in beggary. Still instigated by the demon within, he even deserts his faithful Damayantī. But one day, when thus wandering forlorn and friendless in the forests, he chances to rescue a serpent from the flames. This proves to be Karkotaka, a powerful demon from the nether world, who undertakes to deliver Nala from the power of Kali. Nala is accordingly changed into a dwarfish charioteer, with power to resume his proper features and proportions at will. He then enters the service of King Rituparna, a consummate gamester, who bargains to communicate the secret of his skill with dice for the secret of Nala's skill with horses. Nala soon finds Damayantī, and with her repairs to the capital of his former kingdom. The present possessor, who, though his brother, had driven Nala forth, as he thought, to die, is challenged to renew the game. Nala quickly wins back his possessions, forgives his brother, and lives out a long and peaceful reign with his faithful queen. This history, so seemingly modern, is of very ancient authorship. It has been worked over and over again, and probably expanded since it was first composed, and now exists in several versions. The episode is also remarkable for the simplicity and purity of its Sanskrit, and deserves the summary we have given of it, both as an example of the lighter literature, and on account of its universal popularity.

Of the other episodes of the Mahā-Bhārata we have not space to speak; nor is the main subject of the poem, the wars of the Kurus and Pandavas, worthy of further time. Formed in the way described, by the unsystematized union of diverse materials, its increase from an original of 8,800 to the present extent of 107,389 shlokas or double lines, is not so surprising. Its companion epic, the Rāmāyana, (the adventures or expeditions of Rāma), is of less extent—about 24,000 shlokas, has far more unity, and is, perhaps, the work originally of a single mind. It is not without its episodes and additions, among which is to be reckoned the whole of the last or seventh book. The theme of the original six books is the abduction of Rāmachandra's wife, Sita, by a demon, and the wars waged by her husband for her recovery; but the basis of the whole is undoubtedly the long struggle of the advancing Kshatriyas or Aryan warrior caste against the aborigines of Southern India, who are usually spoken of as ogres (rākshasas) or giants. Of the remaining epic compositions, two titles only (the Raghuvansha, and the Kumārasambhava, both attributed to Kālidāsa, of whom some notice hereafter) deserve to be quoted. The rest of the list are mostly weak expansions or abridgments of themes from the Mahā-Bhāratā or Rāmāyana.

The lyrical productions of Sanskrit are numerous, and, judged by occidental standards, generally more artistic and successful. The best example is the Meghadūta, (Cloud-messenger,) ascribed to the poet Kālidāsa. It is a poem of one hundred and sixteen stanzas, and tells the story of a Yaksha who, incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, is sent into distant exile for a year. In the lonely forest where his banishment is to be spent, while longing for some means of communication with the beloved wife from whom he is separated, he bethinks him of the availability of a cloud, "one of those noble masses which seem almost instinct with life, as they traverse a tropical sky in the commencement of the monsoon, and move with slow and solemn progression from the equatorial ocean to the snows of the Himalaya." This cloud, which he has espied halting upon the summit of a neighboring mountain, he commissions to bear his message. He describes to it the devious pathway it must pursue, and figures to himself the visits it will make to scenes and haunts familiar or famous in Hindu

mythology. Having imagined its final arrival, and cautioned it to disguise its hideous, elephantine bulk, lest his gentle wife be seized with terror, he pictures to himself the attitude of faithful, patient longing in which she will be found. Should his weird messenger arrive at night, his bidding is, (Wilson's translation:)

> Delay thy tidings and suspend thy flight,
> And watch in solemn silence through the night;

and, having waited till the darkness has lifted,

> Behold her rising with the early morn,
> Fair as the flower that opening buds adorn;
> And strive to animate her drooping mind
> With cooling rain-drops and refreshing wind;
> Restrain thy lightnings, as her timid gaze
> Shrinks from the bright intolerable blaze;
> And murmuring softly, gentle sounds prepare
> With words like these to raise her from despair.

The long message is then indited; and to cover the absence of the reply on the part of the cloud, the lover is made to add:

> Such, vast dispenser of the dews of heaven,
> Such is my suit, and such thy promise given:
> Fearless, upon thy friendship I rely,
> Nor ask that promise nor expect reply.
> To thee the thirsty Chātakas complain;
> Thy only answer is the falling rain:
> And still such answer from the good proceeds
> Who grant our wishes, not in words, but deeds.

Here, then, we come upon genuine poetic imagery and tenderness of feeling, coupled with no little ingenuity and discrimination in respect of form—qualities not usually united in a Sanskrit author.

Another celebrated poem of like erotic character is the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva. It describes the loves of Krishna and the Gopīs, or shepherdesses, his companions in Vrindāvana, the home of his youth. To this poem is usually attributed a mystical significance. Rādhā, the principal Gopī, seems designed to represent the human soul which is drawn to Krishna as type of the supreme, eternal goodness. There are several other inferior poems in the same strain, for whose mystical interpretation there is small reason except the offensiveness of a literal understanding. Then there is further to be mentioned a con-

siderable body of what may be called hymns, varying in point of merit from mere safety-spells to prayers and songs of genuine and fervid devotion.

Of specially didactic poetry there is but a small showing. The nearest approach to a moral poem of any extent is the Pancha-tantra, or five books of fables, which, as is well known, is the original of a good share of all the fable-literature of the other Indo-European languages. It also exists in an abridged form in the Hitopadesha (Salutary Instruction). The form, however, of these fables is very different from the traditional type with which we are acquainted. Instead of each story's being given distinct and complete in itself, the Sanskrit weaves the fables of a whole chapter into a confused and almost unravelable web, introducing each tale as an illustration of some point in its unfinished predecessor.

We come now to that department in which Sanskrit culture appears at the best advantage—the drama. The foremost author is the poet Kālidāsa before mentioned. Little is known of his history. We are told he was one of the nine gems (or poets) of King Vikramāditya's court; but which this was among the many princes so designated there is no means of finding out. The date of the poet is, therefore, very uncertain. The best authorities are now inclined to place it some centuries after Christ. He is accredited with numerous compositions, some of them no doubt erroneously, but it is quite certain that he is the author of the three dramas which bear his name, and that they contain his best work. The finest of these is the Shakuntalā, which may safely be taken as the measure of the best effort of the Sanskrit mind in the direction of *belles-lettres*. In spite of its oriental atmosphere and coloring, eminent critics of nearly all the great nations of the West have yielded it the highest praise, and none, perhaps, so enthusiastically as Goethe, who said of it after reading an early and very imperfect version:

> "Willst du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
> Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was sättigt und nährt,
> Willst du den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen:
> Nenn' ich *Sakuntala*, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt."

Kālidāsa is almost a phenomenon among eastern poets. Richness of imagery we expect to find, and appreciation of

nature—the luxuriant nature of the tropics; but his chivalric delicacy and tenderness of feeling, his trained good taste, acute sense of proportion, and perfect self-control—these take us by surprise. Judged by the strictest standards he is, undoubtedly, amply entitled to honorable rank among the greatest artists of all times and countries.

The Shakuntalā belongs to the species of drama which the Brahmins call Nātaka, the most elevated of their theater. Plays of this class derive their character from the exalted rank of the characters represented, not at all from situation or incident. There is no such thing as tragedy or comedy, as we know them. Any thing like the former, indeed, would be abhorrent to the Hindu mind; for every thing rendered upon the stage must have a good ending. Most dramas blend both qualities in close accordance with nature. One of the first differences which separate the Indian theater from ours is the length, some plays comprising no less than ten acts. Every piece opens with an introduction, consisting of an invocation of some deity, a statement of the play to be rendered, and generally a panegyric of its author. This seemingly awkward preludium is managed with such skill that the audience is momentarily diverted and the way prepared for the opening scene. Thus, in the Shakuntalā, after the invocation of Shiva, the director of the play, looking toward the door of the green-room, says:

If your toilet, my good lady, is completed, please come forward.

ACTRESS, (*entering.*)

Here I am, ready to obey my good master's behests.

DIRECTOR.

It is quite a brilliant audience which we have here assembled before us. We must, therefore, serve them to-day with the new play, composed by Kālidāsa, which is called "Shakuntalā, or, The Lost Ring." Let each strive to enact his *rôle* in his best manner.

After exchange of remarks upon the conditions of success, the actress says:

Pray, direct now what shall be done first.

DIRECTOR.

What can you do better than enchant the audience to close attention by your singing?

ACTRESS.

Well, of which season shall I sing?

DIRECTOR.

You should sing, I think, of Summer, which has just returned to us with all its pleasures.

The song suggested is then rendered, no doubt with excellent effect, and the director immediately remarks:

Ah! the whole audience is so entranced that it seemed, just now, like a motionless tableau. Pray, then, what shall we perform that we may surely win its applause?

ACTRESS.

But have you not already determined that, my gracious master? You have just announced that the exquisite drama of "Shakuntalā; or, The Lost Ring," will be enacted to-day."

DIRECTOR.

Your reminder is most opportune. I had for a moment forgotten my words, I was so carried away by your charming song, just as King Dushyanta here by the swift chase of the deer.

And at this moment King Dushyanta appears in a chariot driven at full speed, in pursuit of a fleeing deer; and the first scene opens at once by dialogue between the king and his chariot-driver.

The plot of the drama is very simple. The deer which King Dushyanta is soon to overtake belongs to a near hermitage in the forest, and the king is warned of this by two hermits just as he is aiming the fatal arrow. Later he dismounts and repairs to the hermitage to pay his respects to its inmates, when he sees Shakuntalā, the heroine. She is the daughter of a nymph, of more than human beauty, brought up since infancy in the hermitage. The king falls deeply in love, and his suit is accepted. After their marriage the king is hastily summoned to his capital, whither he departs after arranging for the queen's speedy following. She is so unfortunate, in the meantime, as to incur the displeasure of a rishi, or saint, who pronounces upon her a temporary curse. She proceeds with joyful expectations to her husband's palace, only to find herself unrecognized, disowned—the consequences of the curse. Finally, after the usual chapters of sorrow have been enacted, the ring-token given to Shakuntalā by the king at marriage (which she had mysteriously lost) is recovered by a fisherman

and restored to her. At sight of it the king's memory is regained, and the curse removed.

We have space but for a single extract, which shall be from the fourth act, where Shakuntalā, about setting out for her new home, amid the bustle and agitation of leave-taking, feels something gently pulling at her garments. Her foster-father, Kanva, explaining, says, (Williams' translation :)

> My daughter,
> It is the little fawn, thy foster-child.
> Poor, helpless orphan ! it remembers well
> How, with a mother's tenderness and love,
> Thou didst protect it, and with grains of rice
> From thine own hand didst daily nourish it ;
> And ever and anon, when some sharp thorn
> Had pierced its mouth, how gently thou didst tend
> The bleeding wound, and pour in healing balm.
> The grateful nursling clings to its protectress,
> Mutely imploring leave to follow thee.

There are about sixty Sanskrit dramas of which some knowledge (often only the name) has come down to us. According to native tradition the name of Kālidāsa's successor is Bhavabhūti, also the author of three plays ; but his work bears no comparison with Kālidāsa's. A far worthier rival is Shūdraka, the reputed author of the "Mrichakatī" (Toy-Cart), probably the oldest extant drama in Sanskrit. This author is recorded to have been a king equally renowned for martial and literary achievements, who lived a century, and finally burned himself alive, leaving his kingdom to his son—a characteristic bit of Indian biography. His performance especially rivals the "Shakuntalā" in excellence of description. We cannot forbear quoting the following (from Wilson's rather free, but appreciative, version) upon the approach of the rainy season :

ATTENDANT *to* VASANTASENA.

> Lady, upon the mountain's brow the clouds
> Hang dark and drooping, as the aching heart
> Of her who sorrows for her absent lord;
> Their thunders rouse the pea-fowl, and the sky
> Is agitated by their wings, as fanned
> By thousand fans with costly gems inchased.
> The chattering frog quaffs the pellucid drops
> That cleanse his miry jaws. The pea-hen shrieks
> With transport, and the Nipa freshly blooms :

The moon is blotted by the driving scud,
As is the saintly character by those
Who wear its garb to veil their abject lives;
And like the damsel whose fair fame is lost
In ever-changing loves, the lightning, true
To no one quarter, flits along the skies.

* * * * *

There, like a string of elephants, the clouds
In regular file, by lightning fillets bound,
Move slowly at their potent god's commands.
The heavens let down a silver chain to earth.
The earth that shines with buds, and sheds sweet odors,
Is pierced with showers, like diamond-shafted darts
Launched from the rolling mass of deepest blue,
Which heaves before the breeze and foams with flame,
Like ocean's dark waves by the tempest driven,
And tossing high their flashing surge to shore.

Though we now pass to the severer subjects of science and philosophy, we do not leave the department of poetry. As has been pointed out above, there is, properly speaking, no Sanskrit prose; works even upon astronomy and geography are laboriously and patiently cast into the mold of verse. This illustrates the artificial and unpractical character of the Brahminical literature, which was never to be degraded to every-day uses, but must raise the commonest themes to the poetic plane before admission to the sacred language. We will here note, first, the progress made by the Hindus in astronomy. The Vedas must be turned to for the earliest testimony, and we find there allusions and references sufficient to establish very early beginnings for the science. The Vedic year consisted of 360 days, without intercalary correction; but this was soon supplied by the device of the Yuga, a five-year cycle, which included the addition of an intercalary month. The distinction of the planets from fixed stars appears to have been made considerably later: among the earliest references to the former are those occurring in the "Mahā-Bhārata" and the writings of Kālidāsa.* How much further discovery and addition to their astronomical knowledge were made by the Hindus themselves is a difficult question. They certainly borrowed their acquaintance with the zodiacal signs from the Greeks, as, perhaps, their earlier knowledge of the lunar mansions from

* Prof. Weber's *Vorlesungen über Indische Literatur-geschichte.*

Semitic sources;* and they servilely copied Greek writers and phraseology in their later works. In the end, however, it is probable that they excelled their masters; and there are works or titles extant of Hindu astronomers who were recognized as high authority outside of their own country. In mathematical studies, also, they attained equal or greater eminence, and without borrowing, especially in arithmetic and geometry. We owe to their success in the former of these branches, as is well known, the numerical symbols which the Arabs early adopted and communicated to Europe.

In the field of history the Brahmins have accomplished nothing worthy of mention. The Sanskrit mind seems never to have appreciated either the possibility or the necessity of truthful records of the past. There are, to be sure, vast chronicles, (Purānas,) but so largely made up of mythology and fable as to be valueless to the historical or biographical inquirer. One might find, in a certain sense, their parallel in the half-hearsay, half-fictitious, chronicles of the Middle Ages. As to the kindred subject of chronology, there is utter confusion. Nothing is harder in dealing with Sanskrit literature than to fix the date, or even the century, of an author.

The literature of medicine is very abundant, and seems to have been a genuine product of Hindu intelligence. It is, of course, of no especial value or interest, except to the curious. Yet is it, on the whole, the record of creditable success, both in theory and practice, and will fairly bear comparison with the monuments of the subject in the classic languages.

The achievements of the many generations of Sanskrit grammarians deserve a more extended notice than we can make room for here. For the intricacy and subtlety of such a subject as philology the genius of the Hindus is especially adapted; and as evidence of their success it is sufficient to say, that their works on grammar were, until lately, in advance of the best European scholarship. They excelled particularly in phonetic studies, and the Sanskrit alphabet which they devised, or at least improved, is the most perfect that was ever in actual use. It is based upon an accurate and complete classification of all the elements of Sanskrit speech, shows a correct understanding of the relation between vowel and semivowel, and represents

* Prof. Weber's "Lectures."

each of the sounds employed by an unvarying symbol. The beginnings of grammatical study go back, doubtless, to the early post-Vedic era, and had their occasion in the fact that the Vedas were treasured in a dialect that was fast becoming obsolete. The work of the earlier centuries has perished, almost entirely without record, each succeeding generation appropriating and canceling the labors of its predecessor. Hence it has chanced that Pānini, the last great name in the series, is the first author whose books have been preserved. His treatise on grammar, though perhaps the most remarkable text-book in the world, can hardly be compared with such works as European scholarship has produced. It masses together the facts and principles of Sanskrit usage, without much reference to subject, in eight books of promiscuous rules, each cast in the tersest possible form, by the aid of a terminology especially devised for the purpose, and meaningless to any body but an expert grammarian. These eight books, comprising about four thousand rules, (which have been well likened to algebraic formulæ,) have to be mastered *in toto* before they can be made of any use. No book is complete in itself; its rules must be taken in connection with others, found in no certain place, which modify or annul their application. An amusing illustration of the working of this system is given by Max Müller in the preface of his Sanskrit grammar. A verb-root is mentioned, which, by a certain rule of Pānini, should receive the addition of ā; this is denied for this instance by another rule in another book, which prescribes a different addition. This is in turn set aside; and not until *nine* rules have been thus recollected and applied in succession is the true result obtained! To the grammatical literature belong further the numerous commentaries upon Pānini, certain attempts at a vocabulary of Sanskrit, and the Dhātu-pāthas, or dictionaries of roots.

As for the department of Law, it will be sufficient to mention two or three works. The Sanskrit term for law (*dharma*) comprehends not only statutes, but also every thing prescribed by custom or religion. The earliest of the Dharma-shāstras, or codes, is the book of "Manu." It consists of twelve treatises, or chapters, of which but two are devoted to civil and criminal judicature; the others treat of various subjects, including education, ceremonial purity, devotion, and transmi-

gration. It is the high-water mark of the caste system, and affirms the teacher of the Vedas to be the image of Deity. The principal other code is that of Yājnavalkya. The existence of works on political ethics (*nītishāstras*) is also noteworthy.

We finish our notice of the classical literature with a glance at the productions of philosophy. We find in native authorities little help to an understanding of its beginnings. We are sure the Hindu mind began to occupy itself with speculative themes at a very early period, but of the first schools or systems established we know nothing. The earliest philosopher of whom the natives have preserved traditions is Kapila, the founder of the Sānkhya, or oldest of the six existing systems. The work attributed to him is in the form of about five hundred *Sūtras*, (aphoristic sentences or texts.) The term *sānkhya* signifies deliberation, reflection; and the philosophy so named regarded the universe as evolved from primitive, chaotic matter in bulk, called *prakriti*, which was supposed to be endowed with a volitive guiding principle. The Supreme Deity, according to Kapila, was, therefore, an apotheosized nature. He admitted, however, the existence of a spiritual source from which the souls of men are derived, and whither they return, but he did not take the trouble to explain the involved inconsistency. On the moral side he admitted the existence of evil, inner, outer, and superhuman; and the panacea for all its forms he held to be knowledge—the source and measure of all greatness.

The next system is the Yoga, associated with Pantanjali as its founder, of whom nothing is known. He is purported to have been the author of about two hundred existing Sūtras. The name Yoga (union) indicates the end of this philosophy —spiritual union with God, to be attained by contemplation. Coupled with the concentration of the mind upon the Supreme Being was the practice of austerities, to which the devotee must so accustom himself as to be conscious of no discomfort. Among the requirements to which he must submit were, perfect purity of mind and body, perfect truthfulness in word and thought, the suppression of all desire to injure others, cheerfulness, and the renunciation of all indulgence. A somewhat modified form of this philosophy, is taught in the Bhag-

avad-gītā, to which reference has been made earlier. This treatise appears to have been composed with the intent to divest the Yoga of Pantanjali of the element of compulsory asceticism, which had, doubtless, proved too popular for the best interests of Brahmanism. The author maintains that a pious mingling with the world is better than anchoretical retirement. Instead of avoiding temptation one should combat it; but the affections must first be centered upon things above. Supreme love to God will empower for victory. The chief attributes of Deity are omniscience, omnipresence, and perfect goodness. This purely monotheistic conception rests, however, upon a pantheistic basis, which is derived from still another system—the Vedānta.

The next or third school, following the native order, is the Pūrva-Mīmānsā, "former speculation." It is an orthodox body of sacred doctrine, derived from the Veda, and essentially of a practical character. It is thus distinguished in name from the Uttara-Mīmānsā, "latter speculation," or fourth school, (same as the Vedānta just mentioned,) which is devoted to discussion of the nature of the creative principle, and the origin of the universe. The supreme Brahman, according to this theory, produced the visible creation by changing himself into matter, which is, however, only an illusion. The theses of these two systems are contained in the Karma and Brahma-Sūtras respectively. The Nyāya, or fifth school, and the Vaisheshika, which completes the six, are closely related. Both suppose the universe formed from primordial atoms, each of which is the "sixth part of the mote in a sunbeam." These are united according to the will of a divine arranger, who can neither create nor destroy them. The former system is ascribed to Gotama, who has left a logical treatise consisting of five books of aphorisms. The works of Kanāda, the founder of the last, are also logical Sūtras, a fact which points to the dialectical origin of both schools.

We now move backward to the second, or Brāhmana, period of the literature. As to its date and duration, the limits 1400–700 B. C. may be conjectured. The term Brāhmana signifies "relating to prayer or worship," and designates the unmetrical portion of the Veda, which has been attached to the mantra or hymn portion by Brahmanic priests and sages.

The purpose of this addition is for the most part not exegetical, but explanatory of the ceremonies and sacrifices which the hymns accompanied, and often of their origin. Each of the four Vedas has its own Brāhmana or Brāhmanas. Of the Rig, for example, there are two, which specify the hymns to be used by the Hotar, or invocation-priest; and one of them, the Āitareya, is in part devoted to the ceremony employed at the crowning of a king. The Brāhmanas of the Sāma, eight in number, define the duties of the Udgātar, or singer of chants; while those of the Yajur are for the use of the Adhvaryu, who immolates and burns the sacrifice. Interspersed through the whole body of these writings are numerous episodes and legends, which not a little aid to swell their contents. Founded upon the Brāhmanas in great measure are the Sūtras, which present the substance of their rules in an aphoristic form. Developed also from the same sources, and covering much of the period of transition to the later Sanskrit, are the numerous Upanishads. These are metaphysical disquisitions upon theosophic and other themes, and may be regarded as the virtual beginnings of Hindu Philosophy.

We come lastly to the earliest or Vedic monuments of the Sanskrit people. The form of these must have been preserved by oral tradition, like the poems of Homer, from the mythical age of the race until the invention of writing—from a time hardly less than eighteen centuries before Christ. They contain conclusive evidence of the place of their composition—namely, the valley of the Indus, into which the southern branch of Aryans had but lately entered. The comparative nearness of this migration to the period of Japhetic unity invests the Vedas with the greatest interest to every Indo-European. The Vedas, as we hardly need to state, are four in number, the Rig, the Sāma, the Yajur, and the Atharva. The Rig, or Veda of hymns, is by far the oldest, comprising 1,017 (or 1,028) hymns, which in contents and form not a little resemble the Hebrew psalms. The Sāma, or Veda of chants, is made up mostly of hymns found in the Rig, forming a collection (of about one sixth of its extent) for use at the Soma-sacrifice. The Yajur, "sacrificial Veda," consisting of formulæ for use at the altar, is also largely made up of verses found in the Rig, which are drawn from various hymns and combined

in new forms. Finally, the Atharva (named from an ancient priestly family) is a late compilation, and was long refused the authority of a fourth Veda. Its hymns and formulæ are inspired by a superstitious dread of calamity and evil, and abound in incantation and magic.

The chief interest in the Vedas centers in the Rig, which from its extreme age represents approximately the religion of our forefathers. We find this consisted in the personification and apotheosis of the mighty or mysterious phenomena of nature. The chief deity is Indra, god of the blue and cloudless sky. He drives away a demon Vritra, who, clothed in clouds, stretches himself across the heavens, hides the face of the sun from man, and withholds from his fields the needed rain. Indra smites him with his thunderbolts, and thus causes him to release the pent-up showers and bring the clear sky again to view. The deity to whom the greatest number of hymns is addressed is Agni, (Lat. *ignis*,) the god of fire. He is man's protector from the demons of darkness, having condescended to leave the heavens and dwell with him on the earth; he is the mediator between the other gods and man, and the messenger who carries up his prayers and brings down the gods to his smoking sacrifice. But the noblest of the deities is Varŭna, whose outward manifestation is the all-enveloping firmament, (οὐρανός.) He is the physical and moral ruler of the universe; he orders the paths of the stars and sun; fixes the limits of the seasons: nothing in the exterior physical world or the inner consciousness of man escapes his all-searching gaze. He is the pardoner of sin and the punisher of the unrepentant. There seems in this character the trace of a lingering consciousness, which may well have been retained among the early Japhetic peoples, of the God of Noah. The conception, at any rate, is too spiritual to last, and we are not surprised to find Varŭna, in the later religion, stripped of these moral attributes and degraded to a divinity of the waters. Among the few female deities the most engaging is Ushas, the Dawn, who is invoked in strains perhaps the most poetic in the Vedas. She is the sister of night, the daughter of the sky, the impeller of chariots, the youthful maiden in garments of light to whom every moving thing makes obeisance. She unbars the doors of heaven, rides through in a great resplendent chariot, and

brings the pious unto their sacrifices. Thus do the earliest phenomena of day elicit the admiration and worship of this ancient people. We seem to stand on the threshold of time, when the mornings are sweet with their first dews, and the nightfalls hushed as with the silence of wonder. Man is yet young upon the earth, not yet habituated to his strange life, not yet unwilling to admit a marvelous cause for each marvelous phenomenon, has not yet learned how to gather up the universe in the lifeless, godless abstraction, Nature. The first breeze of morning is the approach of Vāyu, (god of gentle winds,) who comes with Indra in his chariot drawn by a thousand steeds, to drink the earliest draught of the Soma libation. The sun, which comes up later, and strides across the heavens with three paces, one at meridian and one at either horizon, is Vishnu; but the generating and vivifying power of his rays is Savitar. The sun-deity which causes the alternations of day and night, is Pūshan, who is also the guardian of the wayfarer and of shepherds. The god of fierce winds and tempests is Rudra; his sons, the Maruts, are the body-guard of Indra. Finally, the god of death is Yama, not a gloomy conception, but a divinity without terrors, who admits mortals to a paradise with himself, having been the first to go from earth to those far regions. The dead are said to go forth by the ancient pathways, where they shall behold Varŭna and Yama, and dwell with them in felicity forever. There is thus no trace of the doctrine of transmigration, as there is none of the practice of suttee nor of the degradation of woman. There is, moreover, no priestly caste, nor more than an occasional reference to the priestly office; but the method of worship was prevailingly patriarchal.

To illustrate the general character of the Vedic hymns we will translate a few verses from I., 25, of the Rig:

> Considering that we violate thy precepts,
> O Varŭna, from day to day, as subjects,
> Subject us not unto the deadly weapon
> Of him who hateth us and would destroy us.
>
> Let us unloose thy mind and heart to pity
> By these our songs of worship and devotion,
> As doth, O Varŭna, the chariot-driver
> Unloose his steed from chariot and harness.

The god who knows the region of the heavens,
Where fly the birds; who knows the ocean's pathways;
Who knows the months, the twelve, and all their fruitage;
Who knows what one is borne unto the others;

Who knows the winds, the mighty, the majestic;
Who knows their goings and who rides upon them:
This Varûna hath fixed his throne with wisdom,
And rules thereon in absolute dominion.

In state with golden mantle on he sitteth,
The spies have also set themselves about him.
Away my meditations go, and fondly hasten,
Like kine to pasture, seeking the far-seeing.

The meter here imitated is the trishtubh, one of the most usual in the Vedas. The other measures are of this simple sort, usually iambic and founded upon quantity, with double lines, or padas, containing each twelve syllables, or sometimes three or four lines, each containing eight. As to the origin of the Vedic Scripture, several rishis or sages are named and mentioned with reverence as the composers of its inspired lays. Indeed, the greater part of the hymns of the Rig are grouped together according to this reputed authorship.

The peculiarities of the grammar and vocabulary of the antiquated idiom of the Vedas have been spoken of already. The greatest care has been exercised in the tradition of the sacred texts, and there is little reason to doubt that they have been preserved substantially unaltered. But tradition has failed to preserve along with many words and forms their original force and meaning. There are, therefore, many passages to which the Brahmins can give but a conjectural interpretation. These in most instances have been made out with the aid of comparative philology, that is, by recourse to the related languages which have preserved the meaning as well as form of the same words. To philologic learning and skill we therefore owe not a little of the ethnic knowledge derived from the Vedic monuments.

The literature which we have thus hastily surveyed is seen to be in many respects remarkably unlike that of any other Indo-European nation. We miss the consistency, good sense, good taste, and practicality which so markedly characterize the

literary products of the Aryan West. Much of this difference is doubtless due to the caste system, which, for not less than three thousand years, has tended to extinguish all the energy of Brahmanic thought. Much more of the difference is certainly due to the influences of climate. Had the Goth and Indo-Aryan exchanged paths of emigration, we should doubtless have found, just as we find to-day, the weakest and least progressive of the Indo-European sisterhood under a tropical sky.

Art. IV.—JESUS A TOTAL ABSTAINER.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

We come now directly to the

IV. Examination of the Charge

that the example of Jesus sanctions the use of alcoholic beverages. This is based, as we have previously stated, on three specifications, which we shall consider in the order already named.*

First Specification: Jesus made *intoxicating wine.*

The instance cited, and it is the only one of the kind, is the replenishing of the wine at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee. (John ii, 1–11.) Some cause, perhaps the unexpected number of the guests attracted by the presence of Jesus, had exhausted the stock of the host. At this juncture Jesus miraculously provided a fresh supply of the beverage, in quantity somewhere between one hundred and one hundred and sixty gallons,† and in quality so superior that the ruler of the feast remarked to the bridegroom, (A. V.,) "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse, but thou hast kept the good wine until now." (John ii, 10.) So far there is no controversy. Jesus did make wine. But did he make a fer-

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1882, p. 284.

† *Vide* Lange, Comm. *in loc.* It is immaterial to our inquiry, however, whether we regard the whole amount of water in the jars as transformed into wine at once, (so Trench, and commentators generally,) or gradually, as the liquid was poured into each cup, (so Ellicott, Comm. *in loc.*;) or whether we understand with Westcott ("Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles," p. 15) that the wine was drawn directly from the fountain from which they had taken the water to fill the water-pots.

mented and intoxicating wine? Only in case we are compelled to return an affirmative answer to this question has the fact any force as an argument against his total abstinence principles and practice. The word used in the Gospel narrative to describe the article made by Jesus is the generic *οἶνος*, and this gives us no intimation as to its nature, but leaves us free to decide, by internal evidence and moral likelihood, whether the wine was alcoholic or the contrary. The simple record of the evangelist affords ample material for determining the question.

1. The fact is stated (v. 9) that "the wine was made (*γεγενημένον*, lit., 'had become') wine." This form of expression seems to indicate the transformation of the water into the pure blood of the grape in the same manner in which it takes place every year within the growing clusters of the vine, but differentiated from that by the supernatural rapidity of the process. St. Augustine was perhaps the first among the commentators to suggest this interpretation.* It has been adopted by such authorities as Chrysostom,† Bishop Hall,‡ Trench,§ Meyer, Olshausen, Whedon,‖ Geikie,¶ and others. If this interpretation be correct, it settles the whole controversy. Christ never made a drop of alcoholic wine in the grape. In the whole realm of living nature he has never once created an atom of alcohol. That destructive spirit is nowhere a product of nature. "Alcohol is a purely artificial product, obtained only by carefully carried out chemical methods. It exists nowhere in nature," says Dr. Niel Carmichael.** Dr. Richardson describes alcohol†† as "an artificial product devised by man for his purposes." Similar is the testimony of Sir Humphrey Davy,‡‡ Liebig,§§ Chapital,‖‖ and Turner.¶¶ If Jesus did make an alcoholic substance on this occasion, as Chancellor Crosby, Dr. Moore, and Professor Bumstead would have us believe that he did,*** then the act

* In Evang. Joan., tr. viii. † Hom. xxii, in Joan.

‡ "Contemplations." Lond., 1759, p. 117.

§ "Notes on the Miracles," p. 115. Comm. *in loc.*

¶ "Life and Words of Christ," i, 479.

** "Medical Temperance Journal," April, 1880, p. 125.

†† "Cantor Lectures," p. 178. ‡‡ "Agricultural Chemistry," 6th ed., p. 129.

§§ "Letters on Chemistry," 2d series, 1845.

‖‖ "L' Art de Faire le Vin," Paris, 1819, p. 2.

¶¶ "Elements of Chemistry," p. 664.

*** "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 80. "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 88. "A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

was without a parallel in creation. It was, moreover, a palpable contradiction of the doctrine he announced a few months later, namely, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise," (John v. 19;) for the Son had never seen the Father make an intoxicating wine. That, as we have seen, is purely a human invention, and probably the most fatal one man has ever sought out.

2. The wine Jesus provided was pronounced "the good" (τὸν καλόν) by the ruler of the feast, (v. 10.) The term is used comparatively, "the" (τὸν) being emphatic, and is equivalent to the best wine. It is interpreted by our authors* to mean the most intoxicating wine. But this is to beg the whole question. It is to set up a false criterion, and bring everything to the test of that. It is to make the vitiated taste of a nineteenth century set the standard of the taste of a Jewish architriklinos of the first century. It will not do to answer that this interpretation is sustained by the custom, referred to in the remarks of the ruler of the feast, of setting forth the best wine at the beginning of a feast. For this is only to bolster up one fallacy by another. It is not true, as these interpreters would have us believe, that the strongest wines formed the first course of an entertainment, and then, when these had blunted the taste, beverages of an inferior quality were palmed off upon the guests. Evidence in support of such a theory has been diligently sought for, but without success. Meyer admits† that "the general custom, however, to which the table-master refers, is not elsewhere with any certainty confirmed." It is in evidence, on the other hand, that the general custom of a banquet was to use at the beginning of a feast the lighter and largely diluted wines, while the heaviest and specially intoxicating sorts were reserved to the last. That this was true of Christ's day is plainly indicated by a passage from Philo, one of his contemporaries, who describes the votaries of wine proceeding from one kind to another, and finishing up "with bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes that they can get, and drinking the wine unmixed in huge draughts."‡ Athenæus § and

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 80. "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 88. "A Calm View of the Temperance Question." † Comm. *in loc.*

‡ "On Drunkenness," sec. 53. § "Banquet," X, p. 431, b.

Diogenes Laertius* bear similar testimony. The fact that in this instance the verdict of the ruler of the feast was pronounced merely upon tasting (ἐγεύσατο, v. 9) the wine, shows that its superior qualities must have been such as commended themselves immediately to the palate. He did not wait to observe its supposed alcoholic or intoxicating effects.

Have we any evidence as to what actually was the judgment of antiquity concerning the best wine? Dr. Moore attempts to show,† though not in immediate connection with this text, that "the wine which the Bible pronounces *the best*," was fermented and intoxicating. In proof of this position, he cites Prov. xxiii, 31, where the wine against which a warning is directed is described (A. V.) as moving itself aright, (Heb. יִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּמֵישָׁרִים, (lit., "goes according to evenness,") and then compares this with Cant. vii, 9, (in Heb. verse 10,) "where," as he remarks, "regarding 'the best wine' it is said, הוֹלֵךְ לְמֵישָׁרִים, which is rendered in our English Bible 'that goeth *down* sweetly;' in the margin, 'straightly.' 'The roof of thy mouth like the best wine for my beloved that goeth down sweetly,' etc. This is the meaning of the phrase in Prov. xxiii, 31, as the best interpreters allow. It is an attractive property, a characteristic of the best wine, that it goeth (down) straightly, or smoothly, or sweetly." But an examination of the Hebrew text shows that the comparison is unfounded, and the inference illegitimate. Vicar Kingsbury well says of this passage:‡ "The A. V. here is one of the numerous instances of needless departure from the order of words in the Hebrew." The original reads, word for word, "And thy palate, like the wine of the good, going to my beloved straightly, flowing over the lips of the sleeping." The thought is not, as the A. V. might seem to suggest, that the best wine slips down smoothly. "Down" is not in the text, and neither the smoothness nor any other quality of the liquor is suggested. The palate (that is, the words which come from thence, though some understand kisses,) is compared to the best wine, which was so choice that it deserved to be sent *directly* to the beloved one. So the LXX renders, πορευόμενος τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ μου εἰς εὐθύτητα, going to my kinsman in a straight way. Cranmer and the Geneva Bible

* Op. i, 104. † "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 87.

‡ "Speaker's Commentary" *in loc.*

both translate, "wine which goeth straightly unto my beloved."* Going straightly to the beloved, and not going smoothly down the throat, is the idea of the passage, and so lends no support to the theory of Dr. Moore.

Opposed to that theory is such testimony as follows. Volney, after describing the unfermented and boiled sweet wines of Syria, adds: "Such are the wines of Lebanon, so boasted by Greek and Roman epicures."† Rev. W. H. Rule, who, in general, sympathizes with the views of Dr. Moore, confesses that the pure grape juice was "the choice beverage of epicures."‡ The practice of the Egyptian kings, already adverted to, is confirmatory of this view. Dr. Jacobus says of the wine made by Christ: § "All who know of the wines then used will understand the unfermented juice of the grape. The present wines of Jerusalem and Lebanon, as we tasted them, were commonly boiled and sweet, without intoxicating qualities, such as we here get in liquors called wines. *Those were esteemed the best wines which were least strong.*" It is a noteworthy fact that the Arabic translators of the Old and New Testaments, about the middle of the eighth century, rendered "the good wine" of John ii, 10, by *el-chamer*, *el-jid*, "the wine, the new;" *el-jid* signifying that which is "new" in excellence of preservation; the verb having, as a leading meaning, *cæpit novum*, *renovavit*, "he takes as new, he renews."‖ It must also be observed that the adjective used to describe the wine made by Christ is not ἀγαθός, *good*, simply, but καλός, *that which is morally excellent or befitting*. The term is suggestive of Theophrastus' characterization of unintoxicating wine as *moral* (ἠθικός) *wine*.¶

3. Christ provided "the good wine" when the guests had "well drunk," v. 10. Does this expression of the ruler of the feast imply the intoxication of the guests? Prof. Bumstead, following Bengel and others, says that it does not,** "for the remark of the master of the feast was a general one concerning the custom of the times." This is hardly consistent, however, with what he has just said, namely: "The character of it (the wine) in that instance is clearly indicated by the

* *Vide* Dr. Patrick, Cowles, *et al.*, Comm. *in loc.*

† "Travels in Egypt and Syria," c. xxix, p. 382.

‡ "Brief Inquiry," quoted Nott's "Lectures on Temperance," p. 222.

§ Comm. *in loc.* ‖ Samson, "The Divine Law as to Wines," 223.

¶ *Vide* Nott, "Lect. on Temp.," p. 114. ** "Bib. Sacra," Jan., 1851, p. 80.

remark of the master of the feast." For, if the ruler's remark holds good on one point, it does on the other. It cannot logically be divided. The definiteness of the last clause carries along with it the special applicability of the whole. It necessitates the inference that on this occasion also the general custom had been followed. And if these authors are correct who insist that the wine used at this festival was alcoholic, then we are driven to the conclusion that, after free potations of this beverage, which had exhausted the supply and occasioned more or less drunkenness, Jesus miraculously created a large additional quantity of the fiery fluid, so that the company could continue their reckless indulgence and deepen their maudlin into mad intoxication. But such a conclusion stops scarcely short of blasphemy.

It becomes important, therefore, to examine this term which is rendered "well drunk." The Greek is *μεθυσθῶσι*. The form is an aorist passive from *μεθύω*, whose tenses, excepting the present and imperfect, are supplied by the passive of its derivative *μεθύσκω*.* Both of these verbs occur in the New Testament, as well as the noun *μέθη* and the adjective *μέθυσος*, used substantively. Lexicographers are agreed that the root *μέθη*, or *μέθυ*, signifies excessive drinking without reference to the kind of liquor used. All etymologists connect it directly with the Sanscrit *madhu*,† whose primary meaning, according to Benfey, was honey,‡ but, according to Curtius, was sweet drink.§ The same root appears in the Latin *te-me-tum*, Sclavic *medu*, Lith. *midus*, Gaelic *mil*, O. H. G. *metu*, Ang.-Saxon *medo*, Eng. *mead*, all of which signify either honey or a drink made from honey.‖ The idea of cloying sweetness, and so of satiation, is clearly traceable in this root and in all of its derivatives. The verbs *μεθύω* and *μεθύσκω* retain this primary signification of fullness. Hesychius defines *μεθύει* by *πεπλήρωται*, he has filled himself.¶ Liddell and Scott give as the first meaning of this verb, "to be drunken, given to drink," and add, as a secondary signification, "to be drenched or soaked with, steeped in, any liquid."** This arrangement, while it may fairly

* Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," *s. v.*

† *E. g.*, Pott, Benfey, Curtius, Vanicek, Peile, *et al.*

‡ "Sanscrit Dictionary," *s. v.* § "Griechische Etymologie," *s. v.*

‖ Peile, "Greek and Latin Etymology," p 127. ¶ "Lex.," *s. v.* ** "Lex.," *s. v.*

indicate the relative frequency with which the verb is used in these different senses, really reverses the natural order, and puts primitive for derivative usage. Bloomfield correctly defines *μεθύειν*, "to moisten, or to be moistened with liquor, and in a figurative sense, (like the Lat. *madere vino*,) to be saturated with drink." * In the classical writings these verbs often have the sense of being soaked in or filled with any liquid.† Homer, *e. g.*, ("Il.," xvii, 39,) speaks of *βοείη μεθύουσα ἀλοιφῇ*, "an ox-hide steeped in fat." Similar instances occur in Anacreon, (Ode 47;) Hippocrates, ("De Rat. Vic.," iii;) Xenophon, ("Cyr.," i, 3;) Aristotle, ("ap. Stob. Phys.." T. 2, 312;) Theophrastus, ("De Ch. Eth.," 13;) Plutarch, ("Alex.," 69;) Philo, ("De Agric.," p. 209, E.) The last-named author furnishes one very important piece of testimony as to the meaning and use of this verb. He says, ("De Plant. Noae.," p. 234,) "There is a twofold *μεθύειν:* one is to use wine—*οἰνοῦσθαι*—the other is to play the fool with wine—*ληρεῖν ἐν οἴνῳ*." But, what is more to our purpose, in the LXX. *μεθύω* is repeatedly used in its primary sense of repletion. In Gen. xliii, 34, it is said of Joseph's brethren, *ἐμεθύσθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ*, they drank freely with him; undoubtedly of that freshly expressed grape-juice which was the favorite beverage of Egyptian royalty. In Psa. xxiii, (LXX., ep. xxii,) 5, we read *τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον*, "thy cup runneth over;" in Cant. v, 1, *πίετε καὶ μεθύσθητε*, "drink, yea, drink abundantly;" in Jer. xxxi, 14, (LXX. ep. xxxviii,) *μεθύσω τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἱερέων*, "I will satiate the soul of the priests," etc. But where examples are so numerous, quotation is unnecessary. Dr. Lees has made a large collection of such texts, showing the application of this verb to food, milk, water, blood, and oil, as well as to wine.‡ Coming now to the New Testament, we find that *μεθύω* occurs seven times, (Matt. xxiv, 49; John ii, 10; Acts ii, 15; 1 Cor. xi, 21; 1 Thess. v, 7; Rev. xvii, 2, 6,) and the derivative *μεθύσκω* three times, (Luke xii, 45; Eph. v, 18; 1 Thess. v, 7.)

* Notes on 1 Cor. xi, 21.

† Similar to the use of *μεθύω* in classic Greek is the use of *inebrio* in Latin for *saturate* and *satiate*. Cf. Pliny (N. H. i, 9) *inebriatæ radices;* and (xiv, 1,) *uvæ vino suo inebriantur*. Likewise *ebrius*, *e. g.*, in Terence, (Hecyra, v, 23,) *cum tu satura atque ebria eris*. Comp. also French *soûler*, "1. to surfeit, to glut; 2. to satiate; 3. to intoxicate," (Surenne, Dict.) Also the Scotch *fou*, full, with secondary sense of drunken, in which sense the English word is sometimes used.

‡ Works, vol. ii.

In both forms of the verb the primary idea of surfeit is prominent. A decisive instance of the use of the former in this sense is presented in 1 Cor. xi, 21. In mentioning the abuses of the Lord's Supper in the Corinthian Church, St. Paul says (A. V.): "For in eating every one taketh before other his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken," *καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς μεθύει.* But *μεθύει*, in this case, is plainly contrasted with *πεινᾷ* which is correctly rendered as "hungry." The antithesis, therefore, requires the former to be understood in the generic sense of "surfeited," not in the narrow sense of "drunken." The overfilled man is compared with the underfilled man. This is the interpretation adopted by the great body of expositors, ancient and modern.*

Μεθύω, therefore, does not always and necessarily signify intoxication. It does not in John ii, 10. It has in this passage its natural and primitive sense of satiation. It refers simply to the large quantities of wine which had been consumed on this occasion, and has no reference whatever to any inebriating effects. Dean Stanley, one of the most conservative of scholars, in discussing *μεθύω*, has said,† "Its use in John ii, 10, shows that it need not be always taken of intoxication." He might have spoken with less caution. The whole drift of the narrative, and the imperative requirements of the case, show that in this instance it must not be taken of intoxication.‡ Five centuries ago Wycliffe recognized this, and rendered the expression, "whanne men ben fulfilled." The A. V. gives the weight of its authority to this interpretation by translating "when men have well drunk," as does the R. V., also, which renders more accurately, "when men have drunk freely."

4. The declared end and object of this miracle was to manifest forth his glory, (v. 11.) It was not to put the sanction of his divine approval upon the marriage relation, although this was incidentally accomplished; much less was it "for the sake of contributing to the enjoyment of a festive company, and thus sanctioning the use of (intoxicating) wine as a luxury."§

* *E. g.*, St. Chrysostom, Bengel, Grotius, Kuinoel, Bilroth, Whitby, Macknight, Newcome, Bloomfield, Clarke, Lightfoot, Whedon, *et al.*

† "Comm. on Corinthians," *in loc.*

‡ So Beza, Cornelius à Lapide, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Tholuck, Jamieson, Brown, Conant, Norton, *et al.*

§ Prof. Bumstead in "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., '81, p. 86.

Not that he did not wish to add to the innocent enjoyments of men, and to hallow the hospitalities and amenities of social life. But these were not the objects of his first miracle. That object was as infinitely superior to these as the real purpose of his last ordinance was superior to the motive attributed to him by Professor Bumstead,* for the selection of one of its elements, namely, "to secure the permanency of his example in regard to (intoxicating) wine, even to the remotest parts of the earth and to the latest periods of history." The sublime and incomparable object of "this beginning of miracles" was the Epiphany of his glory. "Glory is God's own attribute."† He who has seen his glory has seen God himself. (Exodus xxxiii, 18–23.) When he would reveal himself to man he made a revelation of his glory. The opening act of that revelation was an act of creation. We know him because we have seen his glory in Genesis. "For the invisible things of him *from the creation of the world* are clearly seen, being understood by *the things that are made*, even his eternal power and godhead." (Rom. i, 20.) So Christ must demonstrate his identity with the Father. Men will recognize "*his* eternal power and godhead" only when they see his glory manifested in an act of creation. That is the meaning of the miracle at Cana. It is the new Genesis. It is the revelation of Christ as Creator. "He made the water wine." (John iv, 46.) This points unmistakably to the nature of the thing that is made. The wine of the miracle must have been the same as the wine of nature; the wine of the water-pots must have been one with the wine of the grape-clusters. No other is made, all else is manufactured. Nothing less than omnipotence could make one drop of the pure juice of the grape. The art of man can manufacture any amount of alcoholic wine.

One thought further in this connection: Christ's miracles, as has been carefully observed, were never miracles of mere power.‡ With the single exception of his withering the barren fig-tree, which had no relation to mankind save in the moral lesson which it conveyed, they were always miracles of mercy. He came not "to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke

* Prof. Bumstead in "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 87.

† Whedon, "Commentary on John," ii, 11. ‡ *Vide* "Ecce Deus," p. 79.

ix, 56.) And all his power was put forth to that benevolent end. But if this theory of his manufacturing an intoxicating wine be the true one, then that must stand as the single exception to all his other miracles. It was a malevolent and mischievous manifestation of power. There was no glory in it, but shame. It was the production of a substance which God his Father had cursed as the fruitful source of "woe" and "sorrows," "contentions" and "babbling;" of "redness of eyes" and "wounds without cause," (Prov. xxiii, 29;) which, partaken of in the smallest quantities, "is likely to do harm,"* and in larger quantities is certain to work destruction; which "injures the body, and diminishes the mental powers,"† perverts the conscience, depraves the heart, and destroys the soul. (1 Cor. vi, 9.) And this miracle of malevolence was wrought at a moment when it offered the strongest temptation to men already overcome with indulgence. It was wrought, moreover, as Professor Bumstead, with amazing candor, confesses,‡ "with a full knowledge of all the intemperance then existing and destined to exist in after time. He was aware of the gross intemperance both in food and drink which characterized the Roman world during the luxurious period of its history in which he was on the earth. He knew to how many in Palestine, who had misused it, wine had proved to be a 'mocker.' He could see how many in future time, this nineteenth century included, it would 'bite like a serpent and sting like an adder.' He was aware that his example would have a powerful influence on coming generations. Yet with all this knowledge distinctly in mind, he created it (intoxicating wine) for festive use." Is this, we would fain ask, the work of one "who went about doing good," (Acts x, 38,) who was "holy, harmless, and undefiled," (Heb. vii, 26;) who came "to succor them that are tempted," (Heb. ii, 18,) and to "have compassion on them that are out of the way" (Heb. v, 2.)? Would such a manifestation of power have been diabolic or divine? Would such a miracle have produced the result recorded of this?

5. That result is set forth in the statement, "And his disciples believed on him," (v. 11.) The miracle had the effect of confirming the faith of the few followers he had already

* Professor Bumstead. † Sir Henry Thompson.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 109.

gathered about him, and of gaining still other converts. Their faith was the natural consequence of the manifestation of his glory. That was his ground and its justification. They had seen in his instantaneous creation of the pure and nutritious juice of the grape convincing evidence of his benevolence and power, and they naturally believed in him. But such belief could not, by any laws of thought, supernatural or human, have followed, had they beheld him encouraging and ministering to drunkenness. Nor can we conceive of his adopting any such method for the establishment of his claims or the extension of his cause. He was not a Mohammed, holding out to men the allurements of a sensual paradise, but a "man of sorrows," whose stern requirement of all who came after him was, that they should deny themselves and take up their cross and follow him. (Matt. xvi, 24.) And it was by the personal embodiment and the practical encouragement of self-denial and abstinence, and not by the example or sanction of luxury and self-indulgence, that he won his followers and achieved his victories.

Second Specification: Jesus COMMENDED *intoxicating wine.*

This charge is based on his allusions to wine in two recorded instances. The first occurs in the three parallel passages, Matt. ix, 22; Mark ii, 22; Luke v, 37–39. We shall confine ourselves to the passage as found in Luke, since it is in substantial agreement with the other two, and contains an important addition not found in the narratives either of Matthew or of Mark. The whole passage reads (A. V.): "And no man putteth new wine (*οἶνος νέος*) into old bottles, (*ἀσκούς*, lit., skins;) else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved. No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better." It is only in this passage, and those parallel with it, that the *οἶνος νέος* occurs in the New Testament. It is important for us to determine its application here. The common opinion, perhaps, has been that it denotes wine recently expressed, but already in a state of active fermentation. Such a liquid, it is said, could not safely be put into a leathern bottle which had become "old, rent, and bound up," since the pent-up forces would speedily tear their way through the tender

fabric. But when the skin was new and strong, it is claimed, it could withstand the strain of fermentation, or, being elastic, could stretch and still retain its integrity. But this is an interpretation of the imagination. No bottle, whether of skin or glass, or, for that matter, not the strongest iron-bound cask, could hold together if once fermentation should get under full headway.* The carbonic acid gas generated by the process would shatter a new *askos* almost as quickly as an old one. Job knew this, when he said (chap. xxxii, 19): "Behold my belly like wine hath no vent; like *new bottles* it is rent."

But if *olvoς véoς* be not wine in the act of fermentation, it can no more be wine which has completed that process, "because," as Prof. Bumstead acknowledges, "if the fermentation were complete, old bottles would be as serviceable as new ones." The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be inevitable, that, if it were neither a wine in active fermentation, or one fully fermented, it must have been unfermented. Not so, however, if we are to believe Prof. Bumstead. He says,† it was "a new wine which had not fully fermented, but which had come so near the completion of that process that it could with safety be put into the new skins, whose elasticity would be sufficient to resist the 'after-fermentation' which would ensue." Similarly Vicar Bevan‡ says: "We should be inclined to understand the passage above quoted (Matt. ix, 17) as referring to wine drawn off before the fermentation was complete, either for immediate use or for forming it into sweet wine." Prof. Bumstead, in explanation of the phrase, "after-fermentation," refers to Dr. Edward Smith's "Foods," p. 389. This author does not employ the expression "after-fermentation," but he says, on the page indicated, with reference to the manufacture of Aulese wine: "The fermented juice is allowed to remain until the middle of winter, namely, until February, when it is racked off from the lees, and renewed fermentation with the return of warmer weather is thus prevented or greatly lessened." On the very same page, in speaking of ordinary

* "A must one fifth sugar develops forty-seven times its volume of carbonic dioxide, equivalent to a pressure of 34.3 atmospheres. This would be about ten times the pressure the boiler of an ordinary high-pressure steam-engine has to undergo."—*Thudicum and Dupré*, p. 478.

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

‡ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," art. "Wine."

wines, he says: "When the violence of fermentation has subsided, and the liquor is becoming clear and no longer sweet, it is racked off and run into tuns for perfect fermentation and ripening." This authority, for reference to which we are indebted to Prof. Bumstead, makes three points plain, namely:

1. That the "after-fermentation" is "prevented or greatly lessened" by simply racking off the wine from the lees after allowing a sufficient time for subsidence. But in such a case old bottles would do as well as new, and there would be no necessity, such as is stated, for the use of the latter.

2. That after "the violence of fermentation has subsided," that is, after the wine would be ready to bottle on this theory, it is "no longer sweet," and so could not be made to subserve the purpose suggested by Mr. Bevan.

3. That for "perfect fermentation and ripening" the wine is not bottled, but left to stand in the tun. And this is in exact accordance with what we know of the practice of the ancients, for fermentation, when permitted, was carried on in the *lacus* or the *dolium*.*

These facts show the baselessness of the hypothesis that *οἶνος νέος*, in this case, was a wine which awaited the after stage of fermentation. If, therefore, it was a wine in neither of these three conditions, active fermentation, after-fermentation, or completed fermentation, it must have been wine in an unfermented state. But to this Prof. Bumstead again objects.† "If the liquid were entirely unfermented, not even the new bottles, or skins, would be able to resist the power of the fermentation." That is to say, pure grape-juice could not be put into an *askos* without undergoing fermentation. But is this true? It could certainly have been inclosed before fermentation had begun. "Spontaneous fermentation," that is, fermentation which is not hastened by the artificial introduction of yeast germs, "is always slow in beginning."‡ Sometimes it does not take place until after three or four days' exposure to the atmosphere.§ Would fermentation necessarily take place within the skin? We have already seen that the ancients

* "Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

‡ Prof. Dittmar, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation."

§ *Vide* Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 8.

were familiar with the methods by which fermentation is prevented, and were in the habit of employing them in the preparation of their wines. In this case any one of them might have been adopted with success. The grape-juice could have been carefully expressed and filtered, or, if that were not deemed security enough, it might, in addition, have been inspissated by boiling, and any incipient trace of alcohol expelled. Then it could with perfect safety have been put into a bottle, which might have been so prepared as to entirely exclude the air; and, this done, no other precaution would have been necessary. It was with this end in view that a new skin was always selected, one that was neither cracked nor ripped. Then it was prepared like the amphora, by smearing with honey,* grease, † or pitch, ‡ and when the liquid had been poured in, was tightly closed and sealed. That the leathern bottle would serve the purpose as well as the earthen flask cannot be doubted. Whatever would exclude the water would prevent the access of the air. The skin of the grape which permits the evaporation of the moisture does not allow the entrance of the yeast germs. The "must of grapes or juice of fruit, if boiled and suspended in a bladder in the midst of fermenting must or wort, will not ferment."§ And this suggests another and most important reason why a *new* skin was required for *new* wine. It would not only be perfectly sound, but perfectly sweet. An old skin would almost inevitably have some of the sour remains of a former vintage adhering to it. So that when the fresh grape-juice was poured in, no matter how carefully the air was thereafter excluded, fermentation would necessarily ensue. It is on this same account that Columella, an almost contemporary author, in describing the common process of preserving unfermented wine, (xii, 41,) lays equal stress on its being put into a *new amphora.*

* Burckhard, ("Travels in Syria,") speaking of the Beyrouk honey of the Syrians, says: "They use it in rubbing their water-skins in order to exclude the air."

† Bruce, ("Travels in Egypt," etc.,) describing the *gerbas*, or ox-skins squared and the edges sewed together by a double seam which does not let out the water, says: "They are then all smeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water oozing through, as to prevent it being evaporated by the heat of the sun."

‡ Chardin, ("Travels in Persia,") says that "wine in Persia is preserved in skins saturated with pitch, which when good imparts no flavor to the wine."

§ "Amer. Cyclop.," art. "Fermentation;" Watts' "Dict. of Chemistry," ii, 625.

But if all these precautions should be deemed insufficient, others were still possible. We have seen that it was customary, after the *amphora* or *cadus* was filled and sealed, to plunge and keep it in water whose temperature would not permit of fermentation. This method was adopted with the *askos* as well as with the *cadus*, except that, while the latter was usually immersed in water, the former was more generally buried in the earth.* Any one of these processes of removing the gluten, evaporating the moisture, preventing the access of the air, or reducing the temperature of the liquid below 40 degrees Fah., would have resulted in the preservation of an unfermented wine; or, if it had been deemed best, any two or all of these methods might have been combined, and to make assurance doubly sure the liquid might have been subjected to a thorough sulphur fumigation. And so Prof. Bumstead's objection that the new wine, had it been a perfectly fresh grape-juice, must necessarily have undergone fermentation in the new bottles, is shown to be unfounded, and our former conclusion that it must have been precisely such a liquor, an unfermented wine, the pure juice of the grape, remains unshaken, and must be accepted as the only legitimate explanation of the passage in question. †

This brings us to the consideration of the thirty-ninth verse: "No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better." Though not found in the other Gospels this passage is plainly an integral part of the parable, and belongs naturally to the narrative. It is really the important portion for us, since it contains, if any thing does, Christ's outspoken commendation of intoxicating wine. The first question which arises in our inquiry concerning it is, Whether the term "new wine" has the same signification in this verse as in the two preceding. Prof. Bumstead appears to think not. The "new wine" of verse 38, he says,‡ "must have been new wine which had not fully fermented," but in verse 39 it may "have denoted wine that was fully fermented, but which had

* Jahn's "Biblical Archæology," sec. 69.

† This furnishes another proof, therefore, of the generic character of οἶνος, since, in this instance, our Lord must have used it to designate the unfermented juice of the grape. Cf. Canon Farrar, in "Cambridge Bible for Schools." Luke, Excursus, ii, p. 375.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

not acquired that mellowness which only age can give." So the authors of the "Temperance Bible Commentary" seem to favor the view that "the 'new wine' of verse 38 is identical in nature and representative of the same Christian blessings with the 'old wine' of verse 39—being the new preserved and improved by age." (P. 295.) It cannot, indeed, be maintained that *οἶνος νέος* always denotes a wine which is free from fermentation. It does not manifestly in the LXX, (Job xxxii, 19.) But there can be no doubt that it does in the present instance. Neither can there be any question that it is used in this sense in the LXX, (Isa. xlix, 26.) There the Hebrew *asis*, which designates an unfermented wine, is rendered: LXX, *οἶνος νέος*; Vulgate, *mustum;* A. V., "sweet wine." And in the passage under consideration the legitimate, if not necessary, inference is, that it has the same signification as in the passage preceding. Used thus consecutively, and without any intimation of a change of meaning, we naturally conclude that it has undergone none. There is no confusion or contradiction of metaphors in the parable. The "new wine" of verse 39 is the "new wine" of verse 38, and the "old wine" of verse 39 is the "new wine" fermented and strengthened by age.* With this explanation of the passage it remains to be said that the expression "The old (wine) is better, (than the new,)"

1. Is not Christ's judgment as to the better wine. He does not utter it as his own opinion. He repeats it as the verdict of a certain class of persons whom he distinctly specifies. *They* think the old wine is preferable. He does not in any degree join in their commendation.

2. It is not "the universal judgment of men" concerning the better wine, as Dr. Moore calls it. † Neither does it make plain, as Prof. Bumstead claims, ‡ "that wine in either of these imperfect states," that is, unfermented or partially fermented, "was not a favorite beverage with the Jews." It simply says that one who has acquired a taste for the old wine does not care for the new. We know this to be the case. The effect of drinking alcoholic liquors is to beget an appetite for stimulants

* Dr. Abbott renders, ("Comm. on John," p. 33,) "No man having drunk old (fermented) wine, straightway desireth new, (*that of the last vintage and unfermented.*) for he saith, The old is better."

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 91.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

which grows with indulgence.* And the longer it is gratified, the stronger must be the beverage that will satisfy its craving. A simple, unintoxicating wine, therefore, would have no charm for one accustomed to strong drink. But Dr. Moore criticises† this interpretation in the shape propounded by Rev. Dr. Rich, who says:‡ "This was not the judgment of Christ respecting the superiority of old, fermented wines, but of drunkards whose habit it had been to drink them." Dr. Rich is able to defend his own position, and others perhaps would not deem it necessary to say, "No *drunkard*," etc. But Dr. Moore's criticism calls for consideration in the interests of the general question. He directs attention to the fact that "Christ does not say, 'No drunkard having drunk old wine,' etc., but 'no one,' *οὐδείς*." This word *οὐδείς*, however, is not always or necessarily universal in its application, any more than our "no one," which is often used in a limited or partial sense. That the Greek word is sometimes so employed in the New Testament is evident from John iii, 32: "No man (*οὐδείς*) receiveth his testimony," John says, speaking of Christ. But he immediately adds, (verse 33,) "He that hath received his testimony," etc., showing that the negative was not used in an absolute sense. If it had been intended to make an unqualified statement in the passage we are considering, the separate forms *οὐδὲ εἷς* would have been used,§ as we find them in Rom. iii, 10, and 1 Cor. vi, 5. Dr. Moore further objects that Christ "does not speak of those 'whose *habit* it had been to drink old fermented wines,' for he uses the aorist participle, *πιών*, which does not mark a habit." True, but neither does it deny one. The aorist, outside of the indicative mode, does not necessarily imply a single or transient action. In the other modes it represents an action simply as brought to pass.‖ The briefest act of drinking, for example, may be viewed as going on, and thus be expressed by the present; so the most protracted drinking may be viewed simply as brought to pass, and thus be expressed by the aorist. In the participle form the aorist

* *Vide* Richardson, "Dialogues on Drink," p. 92.

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 91.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," July, 1880, p. 404.

§ Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," *s. v.*; Robinson, "Lexicon of the New Testament," *s. v.*; Winer's "New Testament Grammar," Thayer, p. 173.

‖ Hadley, "Greek Grammar," sec. 716.

represents an action as introduced before that of the principal verb, while in its continuance it may coincide with the latter.* These usages of the aorist are illustrated in Luke v, 39. It may with literal exactness be rendered: "No one, after he has begun to drink old wine, straightway desireth new."

The text does not say such an one will never desire the new. He will not all at once. Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott, and Hort, and the R. V., omit *εὐθέως*, straightway, but nevertheless the sentence requires it. Godet well says:† "It is altogether an error in the Alexandrine that has erased here the word *εὐθέως*, immediately. The very idea of the parable is concentrated in this adverb." All the known facts in the case warrant its retention. Habits and tastes change gradually. But here there is a strong implication that a slight experience will work a transformation of prejudices, and the old wine give place to the new. The received text of this passage has *χρηστότερος*, rendered (A. V.) "better." But codices ℵ, B, L, etc., read *χρηστός*, "good." This reading is adopted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott, and Hort, and the R. V. Alford, although far from being a supporter of our views, admits‡ that the expression contains "no objective comparison whatever between the old and new wine." It is merely the opinion of the individual who is quite satisfied with what he has. It is good enough for him.

3. The judgment contained in this passage, even though it were the universal one, is false. It is contradicted by the very connection in which it occurs, and by the whole purpose of the illustration which it serves. The two dispensations, the Jewish and the Christian, are set forth under the figures, respectively, of the old wine and the new. But the Jewish dispensation was not superior to the Christian; fermented wine is not preferable to unfermented; the old is not better than the new. Only those familiar with the old and unacquainted with the new are naturally reluctant to change. As Lange remarks:§ "The old remains good only so long as one is not accustomed to the new, which in and of itself is better."

The only other passage which can be quoted to sustain the

* Hadley, "Greek Grammar," sec. 717. Winer, "Grammar of the New Testament:" Thayer, p. 342.

† Comm. *in loc.* ‡ Comm. *in loc.* § Comm. *in loc.*

charge of Christ's commendation of wine is found in the parable of the Good Samaritan, (Luke x, 34:) "And he went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, (ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον.)" It requires but a brief consideration. The commendation implied in this narrative is of the medicinal use of wine solely. It is a commendation, too, of its outward and not of its inward application. There is no intimation whatever of any internal administration of the wine. Nor is there any evidence that the wine which the Good Samaritan carried and used was of a fermented and intoxicating sort. The contrary fact is indicated. The record was made by Luke, who, as a physician, must have understood the medicinal character and uses of wine. He knew undoubtedly that in their outward application they follow the law of their internal use. Alcoholic wine is an "irritant poison," * whether taken into the stomach or applied to the surface of the body. It would not allay, but seriously increase, the inflammation of a wound. Christ could not have commended the use of so unsuitable and injurious a medicament, nor could Luke have recorded its use in such a case with his own tacit approval. But an unfermented wine, a pure and limpid grape-juice, would have made a grateful lotion. Combined with the oil, it would have served as an excellent emollient. It is probable that the article used was a compound of oil and wine, called by Galen, (xiii, 859, B,) ὀνέλαιον; noticed by Africanus, ("Geop.," x, 49:) described by Dioscorides, ("Matt. Med.," i, 67;) and numbered by Pliny (xv, 7) among the medicated oils. The latter gives to it the name of *oleum glaucinum*, and tells us that it was made by incorporating *mustum oleo*, unfermented wine, (γλεῦκος.) with olive-oil, (ἔλαιον.) Dioscorides specifies the same constituents, and calls the compound γλευκίνον.† If, therefore, there be any commendation of wine in this parable, it is that in which all abstainers can join.

* *Vide* "Story on Alcohol," pp. 76–80.

† This furnishes still another proof of the generic character of οἶνος, since it is used by Luke to describe the γλεῦκος of the compound.

Art. V.—THE WANDERING JEW AND HIS CONGENERS.

The Wandering Jew. By Moncure Daniel Conway, author of "Demonology and Devil-Lore." New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1881.

Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A., author of "Post-Mediæval Preachers," etc. (Revised edition.) London: Rivingtons. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

To the student of history the fantastic legends of the Middle Ages open rich fields for investigation. Developed unconsciously from the poetic fancies of effete religions, from strange distortions of divine revelation, and from the passions and longings of the human heart, they found ready credence in an age of ignorance; and became powerful formative factors in the mental and moral growth of later generations. "The history of Christianity," says Dean Milman, in an eloquent digression from the steady course of his historic narrative, "cannot be understood without pausing at stated periods to survey the progress and development of the Christian mythology, which, gradually growing up, and springing as it did from natural and universal instincts, took a more perfect and systematic form, and at length, at the height of the Middle Ages, was as much a part of Latin Christianity as the primal truths of the Gospel." Perhaps the strangest of such legends, and the most suggestive to the modern student of mediæval Christianity, were those of the "Undying Ones"—men and women who, cursed for their crimes or blessed for their virtues, were lifted by God above the power of death. While "the great world spins forever down the ringing grooves of change" they are supposed to lie in echoless caverns wrapped in unbroken slumber, or to luxuriate in distant insulated Edens, or, more marvelously still, to stride across the centuries, gazing solemnly on the mutations of time—themselves, alone of all that breathe, unchanged.

Unique in its weird grandeur, the story of the Wandering Jew won, for nearly six centuries, the unquestioning belief of Christendom; and even yet, though investigation long ago relegated it to the Cimmerian realm of myths, it continues to command the interest of the learned and the thoughtful.

Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe,* M. Schœbel,† and M. Gaston Paris,‡ are the best authorities on the antiquarian features of the legend. Its symbolic meaning has been, with the scholars of Germany especially, a favorite subject for study, until around it has grown a voluminous and valuable literature; but, strange to say, until the appearance of Mr. Conway's monograph, no extensive treatise on the subject existed in the English language. In the present article a sketch of the growth of the legend and of kindred myths is attempted, together with an examination of their influence on modern literature, and a glance at their signification.

History of the Legend.

In the year 1228, while the devotees of Europe were flocking eastward in thousands to atone for their sins by penance and prayer amid the sacred scenes of Jerusalem, a certain Archbishop of Armenia made a pilgrimage in an opposite direction, and visited the shrine of "S. Tumas de Kantorbire," and other holy places of the west. Chroniclers of the time § give us glimpses of this dignitary at several stages of his journey —on the banks of the Rhine, in the Low Countries, and at various monasteries in England. Every-where the religious men entertained him with due reverence and honor, and everywhere his hosts were edified by his holy conversation. Among other "strange things concerning eastern countries" communicated by this prelate and the members of his retinue, was an account of the manner of life of the Wandering Jew. According to this narration, Pilate had for the porter of his hall one Cartaphilus, who, when our Lord was dragged forth from the governor's palace to be crucified, impiously struck him on the back with his hand, and said in mockery, "Quicker, Jesus, quicker! why do you loiter?" Jesus looked on him, as he had done on Peter, and with severe countenance said, "I am going, but thou shalt wait till I return"—"and according as our Lord said, this Cartaphilus is still awaiting his return." He was then thirty years of age, and although he grew to be a

* *Die Sage vom Ewigen Juden, historisch entwickelt mit verwandter Mythen verglichen und beleuchtet*, 1844.

† *La legende du Juif Errant*, 1877. ‡ *Le Juif Errant*, 1880.

§ Matthew Paris, *Historia Major;* and Philippe de Mouskes, *Chronique rimée.*

centenarian, he "returned again to the same age as he was when our Lord suffered," and so has done every hundred years since. He heard the cry from the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and as a sincere penitent sought and found salvation. He was christened Joseph, the baptismal rite being performed by Ananias, who afterward baptized the Apostle Paul. "This Joseph," said Henri Spigurnel, one of the knights in attendance on the Armenian prelate, "often ate at the table of my lord the archbishop in Armenia. He is a man of holy conversation, and very religious; a man of few words, and circumspect in his behavior; for he does not speak at all unless when questioned by the bishops and religious men, and then he tells of the events of old times, and of the events which occurred at the suffering and resurrection of our Lord, and of the witnesses of the resurrection, namely, those who rose with Christ and went into the holy city, and appeared unto men. He also tells of the creed of the Apostles, and of their separation and preaching. And all this he relates without smiling or levity of conversation, as one who is well practiced in sorrow and in the fear of God, always looking forward with fear to the coming of Jesus Christ, lest at the Last Judgment he should find him in anger whom, when on his way to death, he had provoked to just vengeance."* Though many gifts were offered to him, Joseph declined to receive them, and shunned observation, though thousands came from the four quarters of the earth to enjoy his society and conversation.

This remarkable story—the earliest form of the myth that has descended in detail to modern times—was told in response to the eager questionings of the monks as to whether their guests had seen "the wonderful Jew of whom there is so much talk in the world:" an evidence that the legend was already current in western Christendom. Whether Spigurnel's account was a little fiction devised for the purpose of exalting his patron in the eyes of the Latin monks, or whether he had really met the man of whom he gives so graphic a description, is uncertain. Ricardus de Argentomio, who shortly afterward visited the East, is quoted as attesting the truth of the narrative. For nearly three hundred years after it was penned,

* Paris, *Historia Major*, as quoted by Baring-Gould, "Curious Myths," pp. 6–8.

European writers make no mention of the Jew. But in 1505 an aged man claiming to be Cartaphilus appeared in Bohemia; and it was asserted that he assisted a weaver named Kokot to recover valuables which his great-grandfather had hidden sixty years before. A few years later, just after the capture of the city of Elvan, it was reported that he appeared to the Moslem warrior Fadhilah, and repeated his sad story of the death of Christ, and his prophecy of his second coming.

The next account was published in 1613. It gives another name to the Jew, and a quite different description of the events which led to his curse. It is so full in detail, and is supported by such a body of evidence, that there is hardly room for doubt that during the latter half of the sixteenth century there appeared a man—perhaps more than one—who with great skill personated the hapless wanderer. Chrysostomus Dudulœus Westphalus is the author's name or pseudonym, and his narrative* begins as follows:

Paulus von Eizen, doctor and Bishop of Schleswig, related to me, some years ago, that at the time he was studying at Wittenberg, while on a visit to his parents at Hamburg, in 1547, he had seen in church, placed near the chancel, a very tall man, with hair falling on his shoulders, barefoot, who listened to the sermon with great attention; and whenever the name of Jesus was mentioned, bowed humbly, smote his breast, and sighed. He had no other clothing in the bitter cold of the winter, except a pair of hose, which were in tatters about his feet, and a coat with a girdle which reached to his feet; and his general appearance was that of a man of fifty years. There seem to have been many of the nobility and gentry who have seen this man, in England, France, Italy, Hungary, Persia, Spain, Poland, Moscow, Lapland, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, and in other regions. Every one has marveled much at him.

When the sermon was finished the "aforementioned doctor" sought out the stranger, and asked him how long he had lived in the neighborhood. He answered with frankness and modesty. His name was Ahasuerus: he was a native of Jerusalem, of Jewish parentage, and a shoemaker by trade. He had been present at the crucifixion of Christ, had lived through the intervening centuries, and been an eye-witness of many

*The full title was: *Newe Zeitung von einem Juden von Jerusalem, Ahasuerus genannt, welcher die Creutzigung unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi gesehen und noch am leben ist, aus Dantzig an einem guten Freund geschrieben.*

famous historic events. There was hardly on the face of the earth a country or city he had not visited. He was especially graphic in his description of the last hours of Christ, and gave a minute account of the "life, sufferings, and death of the holy apostles." "He told even more than we know through the evangelists and historians; and he narrated the many changes of government, especially in Eastern countries, which had occurred at one time or another during those many centuries." This narration very naturally excited "Doctor Paulus v. Eizen's great interest and astonishment," and in the presence of the learned school-inspector of Hamburg he put the man through a rigid cross-examination. Ahasuerus averred that he with many others had regarded Christ as a heretic and a deceiver of the people. When sentence was pronounced upon our Lord by Pilate, he ran homeward, and summoned his family to the door that they might see this impostor, who was shortly to be dragged past on his way to Calvary. With his infant child seated on his arm, he stood, while the soldiers passed, with Christ in their midst, staggering under the weight of a heavy cross. Jesus stopped for a moment and leaned his cross against the wall. But the shoemaker, "full of sudden anger and also desirous of public applause," gruffly ordered him on. Jesus responded, "I will stand and rest, but *thou* shalt move on till the last day." At once Ahasuerus "felt within him that he could stay there no longer;" he set down his child, followed Jesus to his crucifixion, and never again saw wife or children. When he returned to Jerusalem "not one stone was left upon another, nor was any trace of its former magnificence visible." So vivid and exact was the old man's report of these ancient events, that, we are told, "it was impossible not to be convinced of the truth of his story, and to see that what is impossible with men is, after all, possible with God."

Dudulœus speaks at length of the silence and reserve of the Jew's manner; of his sobriety and voluntary poverty; of his ability to speak each European language with the skill of a native; and of his "eternal hurry"—never continuing long in one place. He "could not endure to hear curses, but whenever he heard any one swear by God's death or pains he waxed indignant, and exclaimed with vehemence and with

sighs: Wretched man and miserable creature, thus to misuse the name of thy Lord and God, and his bitter sufferings and passion! Hadst thou seen, as I have, how heavy and bitter were the pangs and wounds of thy Lord, endured for thee and for me, thou wouldst rather undergo great pains thyself than thus take his sacred name in vain."

This singular document ends as follows:

Anno 1575. The Secretary Christoph Krause, and Magister Jacob von Holstein, legates to the court of Spain, and afterward sent into the Netherlands to pay the soldiers serving his majesty in that country, related on their return home to Schleswig, and confirmed with solemn oaths, that they had come across the same mysterious individual at Madrid, in Spain, in appearance, manner of life, habits, clothing, just the same as he had appeared in Hamburg. They said that they had spoken with him, and that many people of all classes had conversed with him, and found him to speak good Spanish.

Anno 1599. In Christ's month, a trustworthy person wrote from Brunswick to Strasburg that the same mentioned strange person had been seen alive at Vienna, in Austria, and that he had started for Poland and Dantzig; and that he purposed going on to Moscow. This Ahasuerus was at Lubeck in 1601, also about the same date in Revel in Livonia, and in Cracow in Poland. In Moscow he was seen of many and spoken to by many.

What thoughtful God-fearing persons are to think of the said person, is at their option. God's works are wondrous and past finding out, and are manifested day by day, only to be revealed in full at the last great day of account.*

From about this date notices of the Wandering Jew become frequent, the details of his history agreeing in the main with one or other of the forms of the myth already given. Botereius† apologizes for inserting the story in his chronicle, and expresses the fear that some may charge him with anile trifling, but evidently thinks it well supported by testimony. Nicolas Heldvaler,‡ J. C. Bulenger,§ and others mention it as fabulous; but Bangert,‖ Martin Zeiler,¶ and other reputable historians and biographers of the day, repeat it with evident

* This sketch is translated and given in full by both Baring-Gould and Conway. The latter also quotes at length most of the authorities mentioned below.

† *Commentarii de Rebus Historicis in Gallia et toto pene Orbe gestis*, 1604.

‡ *Sylva Chronol. Circuli Baltici*, (about 1604.)

§ *Historiarium sui Temporis Libri*, 1619.

‖ *Commentatio de orta vita et excessu Coleri Jurisconsulti Lubecensis*, 1644.

¶ *Historici Chronologi et Geographi Celebres Collecti*, 1653.

sincerity; and Coter and Louvet assure us that they met and conversed with the Jew, the former at Lubeck in 1603, the latter at Beauvais in 1604. Forty years later the "Turkish Spy,"* writing from Paris to a friend in the Orient, gives the most graphic of all the descriptions of the fabulous hero. According to this account his name was Michob Ader, and he was "Usher of the Divan (the Jews call it the Court of Judgment) in Jerusalem" when Christ was condemned. He had seen Jesus hang on the cross; had often been in the company of Mohammed "at Ormus in Persia;" was in Rome when Nero set fire to the city and stood triumphing on the top of a hill to behold the flames; heard Vespasian lament the destruction of Solomon's Temple; saw Saladin's return from his conquests in the East; was the intimate friend of Godfrey de Bouillon, Scanderbeg, Bajazet, Tamerlane, and Soliman the Magnificent; and told "many remarkable passages" concerning these famous men "whereof our histories are silent." "I tell thee," says the writer, growing enthusiastic as he recapitulates the marvelous claims of one whom, after all, he fears to be a cheat, "I tell thee if this man's pretenses be true, he is so full of choice memoirs, and hath been witness to so many grand transactions for the space of sixteen centuries of years, that he may not unfitly be called a Living Chronology, the Protonotary of the Christians' Hegira, or principal recorder of that which they esteem the last *epocha* of the world's duration. By his looks one would take him for a relic of the old world, or one of the long-lived fathers before the Flood.† To speak modestly,

* John Paul Marana, an Italian adventurer, was the author of the curious history of the preceding age written in the person of the supposed "Turkish Spy." After release from prison, in which he had been confined for conspiracy, he began his literary career, first in retirement at Monaco, afterward in Paris. His history, according to Hallam, "is no ordinary production, but contains as many proofs of a thoughtful, if not very profound, mind, as any we can find." There is little room for doubt that his account of repeated interviews and long conversations with the impostor is authentic. At all events, his description of the Jew may be taken as a fair transcript of the current belief of that day.

† By both pen and pencil the Wanderer has been usually represented as venerable and majestic in person, although sometimes attired in rags. His hair and beard are said to have been long and very white. On his brow was a blood-red cross marked by the finger of God. The Inquisition sought to secure him by this sign; but he concealed it by a black bandage. The early pictures give him "a handsome and melancholy countenance." An anonymous German work of the seventeenth century describes him as being clad after the manner of the

he may pass for the younger brother of Time." Several similar accounts were published during the seventeenth century in both Germany and France—Mr. Conway enumerates nineteen; but the legend made slower progress in England, and "seems hardly to have been known in Spain, and but little in Italy, at an early date." A number of works were published about the same time also, confuting the story, and showing that "in the nature of things" the Immortal Jew never could have existed. But the impostor or impostors who had already personified him, doubtless to their own great pecuniary advantage, were not willing to allow the popular interest in the story to die. Soon after his interview with the "Turkish Spy," Michob Ader appeared in Cambridge, England, and confounded the university doctors by his erudition. His statements were scrutinized, and he seems to have secured a respectful hearing. Traces of the progress of vagabonds of various attainments and skill, claiming to be either Ahasuerus or Cartaphilus, are found in the current records of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Other names, too, were used, *e. g.*, Buttadæus, (Boudedeo,) Isaac Laquedem, and Gregorius.* But increasing intelligence threw the legend into disfavor; and perhaps the last impostor of this sort who met with any considerable success dwelt in Newcastle, England, during the latter half of the last century.

The Wandering Jew in Literature.

Just when the Wandering Jew disappears from active life, he reappears in the realm of fancy—not now, however, as the hero of a legend in harmony with the current religious feeling, but as the favorite subject for the pencil of the painter and the pens of the romancer and the poet. Each author interprets the myth according to his own standard, and a comparison of their various interpretations forms one of the most interesting episodes of Mr. Conway's volume.

ancient Romans; but usually he appears in shabby clothes of antiquated German fashion. Dr. von Eizen's description reminds one of the typical American tramp. In Doré's spirited designs the mediæval conception is vividly reproduced.

* In 1640 a satire was published in London, entitled "The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen," in which the name of the Jew is given as Gad Ben-Arod Ben-Balaam Ben-Alimoth Ben-Baal Ben-Gog Ben-Magog! In a drama by Andrew Franklin, published in 1797, he is called Mr. Mathusalem.

In Germany, Schubart, Schreiber, Müller, Lenau, de Chamisso, Goethe, Mosen, Köhler, Horn, Klingemann, Oelkers, Schücking, von Zedlitz, Hans Christian Andersen, Heller, and Hamerling, have made the Wanderer the hero of novel or song; in France, Edgar Quinet, Eugene Sue, and Edouard Grenier; and in England, Andrew Franklin, William Godwin, Rev. George Croly, and the poets Shelley and Wordsworth. Ahasuerus is represented "now as vainly seeking every conceivable form of death, now as a philosophizing pessimist, now as a penitent, whose pardon, long delayed, will surely come at last." Sometimes he appears as the typical victim of the *Judenhetze*—the undying hatred of the Jewish race—which gave to mediæval history some of its darkest stains, and which to-day appears as rampant and unscrupulous as ever in Russia, in Germany, and even in some quarters of our own more liberal land. Now he is the symbol of the hopeless but persistent opposition of sinful man to a holy God; again he stands as the personification of humanity, Immortal Man, "in whose unbroken consciousness all history is embodied." Mosen's poem makes Ahasuerus the embodiment in an individual being of the spirit of Tradition. He opposes himself to the God of Christendom, first as a representative Jew, next as a champion of Julian the Apostate, then as a Moslem warrior, and finally as the hero of infidelity, who declares an everlasting war against Christ, in the name of all forces and powers, all sighs, all sorrows, shed tears and blood, broken spirits, and crushed hearts. Christ accepts the challenge, and the struggle is to continue till the day of judgment. Köhler regards the Wanderer as a prophet of freedom. Klingemann reads in the myth the lesson of purification by suffering. Oelkers conceives a representative Wanderer for each of the great faiths—the Hebrew, the Moslem, and the Christian. Andersen's Ahasuerus is the angel of Doubt—the incarnation of reverential skepticism. Each step in human progress seems to him to be retrogressive: Constantine, the Crusaders, Columbus, Gutenberg, the Reformers, all appear to be deluded fools; and very slowly does the truth reveal itself to his mind that God is working through all forces for the elevation of humanity. Heller "puts the hero through many phases of Hegel's phenomenology: the intellectual world ever decays, consumed by doubt,

and the heart ever brings it forth anew." Quinet's epic has a peculiar history. Having lost the faith of his childhood, the author began a life of wandering. His continued journeys through Europe and the East, and the aching loneliness of his skepticism, led him at length to regard himself as a type of the doomed Ahasuerus. Mr. Conway's description of the genesis of Quinet's poem is almost as interesting as the history of the Jew himself. He wrote it while he wandered, on foot, on horseback, in gondola, at sea; in the cathedrals of Germany, the basilicas of Rome, the convent of Bron, the villas of Naples and the almshouses of Morea. Its aim, the author tells us, is to reproduce some scenes of the universal tragedy played between God, Man, and the World; but it ends in an eternal night of utter negation.* The Englishman, Franklin, turned the tale into a burlesque.† Croly's Salathiel is a truly splendid production. Sue's "*Juif Errant*" would be improved by striking out all allusion to the Jew and Jewess, who seem to be dragged in to justify the use of the attractive title. According to Mr. Conway, Shelley's conception of the Wandering Jew is "dignified beyond all others, because he defies the divine tyrant with true Promethean vigor. Although the Jew had arisen as the spiritual type before nearly every fine mind living at the beginning of the last generation, only Shelley made a real hero of the Wanderer for his scorn and defiance of the Christian deity."

Interpretations of the Legend.

The opinions of the more thoughtful writers on mediæval mythology concerning the meaning of this legend vary as greatly as do the conceptions of poets and novelists. The works whose titles have been placed at the beginning of this article represent the two extremes of thought—ultra-ecclesiasticism and infidelity.

* "Wandering Jew," pp. 204–213.

† Franklin's drama appeared in 1797. His heroine is doomed by her surly guardian to marry the most aged bachelor in England. Her chosen lover accordingly assumes the guise of the Wanderer. His body-servant, who claims to have also lived through the centuries, is betrayed by his garrulity into many amusing anachronisms. "Among other things he tells about Romulus and Remus, and relates that when he was at the baptism of the twins, their mother threw a basin of tea at him for saying that Remus was the prettier of the two."

Mr. Baring-Gould seems to cherish timidly a belief that the legend contains an element of truth, although he admits that "the historical evidence on which the tale rests is too slender for us to admit for it more than the barest claim to be more than a myth." Nevertheless, after quoting the words of Christ, "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God," he continues:

> There can, I think, be no doubt in the mind of an unprejudiced person, that the words of our Lord do imply that some one or more of those then living should not die till he came again. I do not mean to insist on the literal signification, but I plead that it is compatible with our Lord's power to have fulfilled his words to the letter. That the circumstance is unrecorded in the Gospels is no evidence that it did not take place, for we are expressly told, "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book;" and again, "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." We may remember also that mysterious witnesses are to appear in the last eventful days of the world's history, and bear testimony to the Gospel truth before the anti-Christian world. One of these has been often conjectured to be St. John the Evangelist, of whom Christ said to Peter, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" and the other has been variously conjectured to be Elias, or Enoch, or our Jew.—Pp. 4, 5.

Mr. Conway's iconoclastic treatment of the subject is in bold contrast to the reverential manner of Mr. Baring-Gould. In elegant and flowing diction, and with a somewhat pompous display of erudition, he has given to us the completest account of this myth, and the many others which have "exchanged connotations" with it, that has appeared in the English tongue. And the practical value of his volume is enhanced by the fact that he has had at his command the well-arranged results of French and German scholarship, and has thus been spared the toil of himself digging into the mines of antiquity. The earlier bibliography of the subject he has condensed from the great work of Dr. Grässe; and the excellent sketch of the various German poems on the subject—which is one of the most interesting features of his work—is translated from Hellbig's pamphlet.* The typographical beauty of the

* *Die Sage vom "Ewigen Juden," ihre poetische Wandlung und Fortbildung.* Von Friedrich Helbig. Berlin, 1874.

volume is marred by errors which can hardly be excused. Such, for instance, is the occurrence of the name Samuel, the Hebrew prophet, for Sammael, the Angel of Death. Philippe de Mouskes, who died in 1283, is said to have become bishop of Tournai in 1682; and there are several other glaring blunders. There is, too, a spirit noticeable throughout the book which to most of Mr. Conway's countrymen must savor of toadyism to "British culture." Among other recondite bits of information, the reader is gravely informed that a certain General Jackson was once President of the United States; and "democrat" and "republican," where mentioned incidentally, are begun with small letters, as participants in insignificant squabbles, while the political parties in England are honored with capital initial letters.

There are, however, much more serious defects than these. The lofty assumption that Intelligence (with a capital I) has long ago ceased to respect the "myths" of the Bible—by which are meant the historical portions of the Scriptures—provokes a smile of contempt rather than a labored denial; but this assumption is supported by statements that, if not intentional falsifications, are certainly "conspicuously inexact." Starting with the thought that "the abrupt, absolute fact of death, especially of friends or heroes, is essentially inconceivable," Mr. Conway claims that this legend and kindred tales had their origin probably in the longing of the human soul for eternal life. A natural unwillingness to acknowledge the death of the great leaders of history led men first to fable an earthly immortality for them, and, when that fiction exploded, to transfer their undying existence to a heavenly world. The Christians' paradise, whose glories John saw in apocalyptic vision, is thus merely the more ancient Gan-Eden, Avalon, Hesperides, or Atlantis, raised to the "rosy cloudlands" that evade scientific exploration. In the most flippant manner he discourses of the germinal myths of the Semitic race. "The books of our Bible were written after ancient traditions, and gathered together when other ideas were predominant, and it is rather by intimations there found, and by references to rabbinical and Arabian folk-lore, that we can get at these primitive fables." To distinguish these original fables, from which have sprung the greater part of biblical history, the greater part of

Christian mythology, and quite all of our hopes of eternal blessedness, would seem to be no slight undertaking; but our sapient writer proceeds unhesitatingly and oracularly to his task. Cain was the prototype of the Wandering Jew; Enoch is identical with the Iranian Yima, king of the Golden Age in Persia. And as the "imported dualistic philosophy of the Jews marshaled every being on one side or other of the great war between Ahriman and Ormuzd," a counterpart was early invented for each legendary hero. Thus, the "Seth myth" was introduced to avoid having the human race descend from the first murderer, the type of all evil, Cain. Lamech is Enoch's counterpart. Esau is the next restless wanderer, and Satan and Sammael are but later forms of the "Esau myth." The corresponding immortal is Judah, who is perpetuated in the personality of Michael. What shall be said of the scholarship or candor of a writer who, merely because the death of neither Judah nor Esau is mentioned in the Scriptures, assumes that the Hebrews believed in their immortality on earth? Moses and Elias are in turn added to the company of undying ones. The Ancient of Days, the Angel-Messiah, the Son of Man, were, according to Mr. Conway, purely earthly conceptions; and the gospel history was ingeniously modeled on the ancient legends. The transfiguration and the incidents preceding the crucifixion are treated in the same trifling manner, as stages in the evolution of the legend. Judas is the obvious evil counterpart of John. "It is doubtful whether any such person as Judas ever lived."

It is not easy to state precisely what theory of interpretation Mr. Conway favors. He regards the Wanderer as a type of the homeless, unchanging Jewish race; but his discussion is so vague and so loaded with brilliant but irrelevant learning, that it becomes in places somewhat incoherent. Many of the chapters have but little connection with the subject; and one lays down the book with no impressions quite so distinct as admiration of the author's multifarious erudition and astonishment at the rancor of his infidelity.

Mr. Conway displays great ingenuity in etymological speculation. As a specimen we quote the following in answer to the questions: "How is it that the name Cartaphilus was replaced by Ahasuerus? How did the door-keeper of the

thirteenth century become the shoemaker of the sixteenth century legend?"

Mr. Blind, with a creditable caution, suggests that the name may have been a modification of As-Vidar. This god (*As*) Vidar was in the Scandinavian mythology the symbol of everlasting force. . . . He wears shoes for which the stuff has been gathering for ages. [Similar shoes now exist as relics of the Wandering Jew in several European towns.] It may be remarked that the name Buttadæus, given to the Wandering Jew by Libavius, may possibly refer to the boot (A. S., *butte*) of the Wanderer; and it may have been that *deus* was added. Whether it meant the "booted god," or the man who struck God with a boot, or *bouter dieu*, to push God, must remain doubtful. Cartaphilus is pretty certainly *κάρτα φίλος*, in allusion to the "beloved" disciple. Ahasuerus is perhaps the Hebrew form of Xerxes, though there is nothing in the history of that king to connect him with the Wandering Jew. . . . If the name Laquedem is written and pronounced in French (Walloon) "Lakedem," and is derived from the Hebrew, it can scarcely be any thing else but *la-kĕdem*, i. e., "the former world;" in which case we must say the use of the prefix "la" is without a parallel in names of later Jews, and therefore the "la," the French article, may be considered due to a half-learned inventor of names.—Pp. 99–101.

Kindred Myths.

To see the absurdity of such reasoning as this, one has but to turn to the kindred legends which have floated down the ages. The naturalness with which they sprang from the existing state of things makes such learned groping after roots almost grotesque. There are but two classes of earthly immortals known to any mythology—Sleepers and Wanderers.

Nearly every nation has had its patron saint or hero, who is not dead, but sleepeth; and who in the hour of calamity will surely arise to maintain the ancient liberties of his native land, and spread consternation among its foes. The mythical Arthur of Britain proved himself invulnerable to every stroke, until the treachery of his wife and dearest friend overwhelmed him in ruin. But even then he did not *die:* his wounded form was ferried by three mystic queens to

> "The island valley of Avilion,
> Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns,
> And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea."

And the old monkish chroniclers tell of his occasional appearance and of his certain return in the future. So Charlemagne, William Tell, Boabdil, Sebastian, Frederick Barbarossa, and many other redoubtable warriors, await in silence the angelic call to lead their armies again to victory. Mohammed's death was discredited by his disciples; and for years after the infamous Nero had met his fate his reappearance was looked for by the Roman populace. During the Middle Ages the common people of England, with characteristic pertinacity, refused to believe the reported death of several of their favorite princes, and treasure and life were readily expended in the cause of worthless adventurers who personated the departed heroes. No sworn testimony could persuade the yeomen of Somerset that the dashing Duke of Monmouth really perished on the scaffold in 1685; and for nearly a century after his execution his followers and their sons awaited his return and leadership. Even in the nineteenth century "men cannot bear to think that their heroes, leaders, saviours, are really dead." Until the civil war, like an earthquake, shook the foundations of our Republic, and made the "living issues" vivid to every citizen, many dreamy rustics quadrennially voted for General Jackson—at least so the "campaign story" goes. And even now, it is said, there are hundreds of the French peasantry who sturdily deny the death of Napoleon the Third.

It is not strange, then, that in "times of ignorance" quaint stories of the perpetuated life of great and good men should find ready credence. Merlin, the wondrous mage, was fabled by the Celts to be forever inclosed in a hawthorn bush, bound by his own weird spell. Early in the Christian era it was reported that Saint John the Evangelist had not seen death, in accordance with the words of the Saviour, "If I will that he tarry till I come. . . ." Pilgrims flocked to Ephesus, where, according to Sir John Maundeville, dyede Seynte Johne and was buryed behynde the highe Awtiere, in a Toumbe. It was currently reported in Europe that the earth above him heaved perceptibly as he breathed heavily in deep slumber. "And zee shulle undrestonde," continues the quaint old traveler, in what was good English five hundred years ago, "that Seynt Johne leet make his Grave there in his Lyfe, and leyd him self there

inne alle quyk. And therefore somme Men seyn, that he dyed noughte, but that he restethe there till ten Day of Doom. And forsothe there is a gret Marveyle: For Men may see there the Erth of the Tombe apertly many tymes steren and meven, as there weren quykke thinges undre." The beautiful legends of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and of the reverie of the Monk Felix, past whom two centuries slipped while he stood entranced by the singing of a nightingale, have always been dear to the popular heart. Somewhat similar are the tales of Don Fernando's mysterious voyage, and of Rip Van Winkle's sleep; but they have not the warm religious glow and sweet poetic freshness of the older legends. The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood, unconsciously awaiting the advent of her prince, before the might of whose affection the impenetrable forest opens into fair umbrageous avenues, and whose tender kiss breaks the enchantment, and sends thrills of life and love through all her being, is perhaps the most charming of these earthly immortals. In melancholy contrast to this fanciful idyll is the classic story of Tithonus, whose boon of immortality was changed into a curse by the infirmities of age. There is no great mystery about the origin of such tales as these. They are the products of the same antecedents and conditions as the perpetual Wanderers, although the modes of evolution may be different.

One of the most ancient of Jewish traditions is that of the beautiful but venomous Lilis, Adam's first spouse. Before the creation of Eve she lived in the garden of Eden—a sort of phantom woman, lovely in face and graceful in form, but malicious and cruel at heart. She revenged her husband's desertion of her by remorseless hostility to his descendants. Always in the bloom of youth, she travels to the remotest quarters of the earth, strangling children, kidnapping brides, maligning mothers, and luring men into crime. Our nursery word "Lullaby" is said to be a corruption of "*Lilla, abi*"—"Begone, Lilis!" Widely different in all its characteristics is the mediæval legend of the Wild Huntsman, forever driving on his aërial chase, and forever pursued by Satan. In the days of the incarnation, it is said that he forbade our Lord to quench his thirst at a river, telling him with a sneer that he might drink from a horse-pond. As a punishment he was condemned

to an eternal gallop and a bootless hunt. The strange nightly noises heard in the Black Forest are said by the German peasantry to be produced by the neighing of his steed, the barking of his dogs, and the winding of his horn. Near of kin to the Wild Huntsman is the Flying Dutchman. In the time of early exploration, when it seemed within the easy range of possibility for any sea-captain to discover, almost any day, a Peru or an Eldorado, old Van der Decken swore madly that his ship should round the Cape, "in spite of God or devil, if it took till Judgment-day." He is sailing yet through southern seas, propelled by supernatural force, unchecked by wind or current; and he must forever sail unless some pure and compassionate maiden voluntarily shares his sorrows and his penance. For her sake he shall be forgiven. But even his doom is hardly so bitter as that of Herodias, who is perpetually whirled about far above spires and tree-tops, and can only rest from midnight till cock-crow. According to the legend she cherished an unrequited passion for John the Baptist. Her anger secured his decapitation, but when his noble head was brought in upon the charger her love impelled her to kiss it. A contemptuous puff from the defunct prophet's lips sent her whirling through the doorway, and for nearly nineteen hundred years she has incessantly gyrated.

But the most realistic of all, and perhaps the most awful creation of the human imagination, is the legend of the Wandering Jew. Flying in despair from the home of his youth, stung by his Saviour's curse; kneeling penitently to receive the waters of baptism at the hand of Ananias; a weary witness of the downfall of Jerusalem, of the decay of Rome, of the squalor, the glory, the universal turmoil, of the Dark Ages—we can imagine the old man still trudging on his lonely way, oblivious to the changes of more modern times, unaffected by "the march of progress;" still trudging, while one by one we are carried to our graves; still trudging, through all the future centuries, till at last, as depicted by the prophetic pencil of Doré, he puts off his shoes on the eve of the Judgment, and hails with glad smiles the dissolution of a senile world.

A portly volume might be filled with ingenious explanations of the moral teachings found in these legends by zealous antiquaries. This digging for recondite symbolism in fancies which

actually sprang spontaneously from the teeming soil of ignorance, has been greatly overdone. The plain fact seems to be, as Mr. Conway remarks, that it was quite as hard for mankind, before clear notions of a future life had arisen, or science had adopted the theory of the persistence of force, to conceive of an absolute end as it is now for us. To the instinctive belief in immortality—a prolonged earthly existence, as at first conceived—we owe the whole family of myths under consideration. And when we remember the "dark sayings" of our Lord which may have seemed at first hearing to imply earthly immortality for some of his hearers, much of the mystery that befogs the origin of our legend is dissipated. The tendency of the imagination which has produced enchanted Merlins and Sleeping Beauties, Wild Huntsmen and Flying Dutchmen, is surely sufficient to bring forth from the climactic hour of Hebrew history the weird, portentous figure of the Wandering Jew. In the course of development it in all probability "exchanged connotations,"—to use again one of our author's pet phrases,—with the other myths of Wanderers; but that it ever became in any true sense an allegory may well be doubted.

But if a moral must needs be appended to these wild tales of immortal Wanderers, perhaps we shall not err greatly if we regard them as personifications of the great mental and ethical traits that have characterized humanity through all ages. Earth's generations come and go

> "As shadows cast by cloud and sun
> Flit o'er the summer grass."

Countless are their numbers and endless their individual variety; but sooner or later all are drowned in the "flood of years." But Conscious Guilt, and Malevolent Vengeance, and Passionate Love, stalk over the earth like undying personalities, at home in every age and clime, if not in every heart.

Art. VI.—THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF METHODIST EPISCOPACY.

The Life of Edmund S. Janes, D.D., LL.D., Late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Henry Bascom Ridgaway, D.D. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

Edmund Storer Janes lived four distinct lives—the natural, the spiritual, the official, and the practical. There was another possible life which, however, he did not live—a life for his biographer. He might have recorded what no one but himself knew, including his strongest thoughts, his boldest conceptions of God, man, and eternity. This largest, grandest book of this great and good man can never be written. He kept no adequate records of his profoundest life. He wrote innumerable letters, but not for his biographer. They were for his loved ones at home, or on official business, or for the relief of the stricken and sad. He employed no reporters to preserve his greatest discourses, and the glowing thoughts which thrilled us, and the majestic appeals which amazed us, disappeared. They were not lost, but, like a diffusible stimulus, passed into other lives. As finished productions, strong, classic English, and brilliant oratory, they are gone. This is to be regretted. To the Church and the world it is an irreparable loss. We, however, record it as a distinction of this remarkable man. He was so intensely occupied with his life mission that he did nothing for his biographer. His autobiography was lived, not written.

It is due to Dr. Ridgaway that these facts should be stated. The question was not what he would have done had he found full records of the life he attempted to characterize, but what he did without them. There was a demand for that keen perception which can identify the essence of facts and of true generalizations without the aid of material symbols. For such a difficult task we believe Dr. Ridgaway was well qualified. He has, therefore, produced a biography of great value.

The natural life of young Janes was that of a compact physical organization. It had all the equilibrium and vigor of a large body, without its wastes and burdens, a strong nervous system, with large brain and decided self-control. In his natural pose the will, which Bishop Simpson identified at his

funeral, was very evident. We know this from his firm rejection of the life of trifling, so natural to boys, in favor of hard-working industry. That "stone fence" was in young James. There were no stone fences in a hundred of his playmates who have never been heard from. Strong light is shed upon his natural life by those few words to his son, "I worked hard when I was a boy." He would have been an industrious, energetic man if he had never been a Christian, and I believe a splendid husband and a good father, and a grand orator, or physician, or lawyer, from the constitutional elements of his natural character.

We have here an opportunity of emphasizing an utterly neglected fact of true worth. It is first grounded in the natural life. You may give brilliancy to a life that is naturally unreliable; you may make a star preacher of an eccentric genius, a real orator of occasions, from a man of strong imagination and fancy; but a great man must be born great. To be certainly reliable he must have natural honesty. If he is to be a sound judge or a great bishop he ought to be a man who would have held an even balance if he had never been converted. If there is natural narrowness and a fondness for the ideal and untruthful in his moral constitution, it is not safe to place him where there will be a severe strain on his peculiar idiosyncrasies. A want of due attention to this fact will explain the failure of multitudes to bear themselves honorably in sharing the burdens and grasping the plans of the Church. Thus, also, we can explain much of the disgrace the cause of God has suffered from reckless passion. Unworthy members and ministers have brought their vile proclivities down from their ancestors or from childhood. Such people must be reached by the Gospel, and, if possible, saved; but comparatively few of them are by natural constitution fit for high distinction or sacred trusts. For executive responsibilities, which must control vast interests and determine the rights of multitudes, men are required who naturally feel the power of high moral obligation.

Then the hardships of an itinerant episcopacy require great powers of physical endurance, the mastery of circumstances, a keen sense of the possible against improbabilities, leaving no room for mere convenience or irresolute imbecility.

Now these are constitutional qualities. They belong to great warriors and strong workers. They were connatural with Cortez, and Humboldt, and Asbury. You cannot put them into natural weakness. Like broad common sense, they are above the average man. These facts of the primal life belong to the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopacy. They are nowhere more thoroughly illustrated than in the life of Bishop Janes. He was eminently such a man, and this life was clearly identified by his biographer.

We now come to his spiritual life. He was a thorough Christian. His experience is nowhere formally detailed. We are, however, sure he must have endured pungent conviction for sin. He was a strong thinker, and to such a mind sin must have been no trifle. With a sensitive conscience he would surely be susceptible of the clearest, profoundest impressions from the Holy Spirit. He sought and found the common Saviour; he would accept no other. We need not be told that when his faith apprehended this Saviour he found himself in possession of a new peace and a new joy, and at length in serious conflict with "the world, the flesh, and the devil." These enemies, he found, were subjugated, but not destroyed. Slowly and painfully he would ascertain these facts and deal with them. Such a mind would take up with no superficial evidence. Every thing in his inner life would be subjected to the severest scrutiny, and such an evidence of his sonship as the Holy Spirit alone could furnish would be the only witness of the supernatural change which his judicial mind would accept. If his conflicts and victories differed from those of ordinary minds, they would be clearer and stronger. He would, therefore, be, in the best sense, a true Christian. We need no further evidence of this. It was in the constitutional organization of the man divinely guided. Most of his conflicts he would keep to himself. They would be severe and strongly marked. If he had great joys they would be distinguished by calmness, and probably demonstrated by smiles and tears rather than by shouts of praise. His progress would be apparently slow but really great.

Of this experience would come extraordinary power to help others in their severest struggles. He had most certainly passed through the trials with which the humblest Christians

were grappling. He was thus prepared to be a great pastor, a wise leader of souls.

But we feel bound to state that he was an extraordinary Christian. His mind grasped the great provisions of the Gospel for entire sanctification. He was a great reader but a greater thinker, and we are sure he judged promptly and decisively that a Divine system of salvation must be complete. He would reject instantly the idea of a death or after-death purgatory. He would insist that the cleansing which his religious consciousness showed to be indispensable after conversion must be provided for and realized in this life. He would "search the Scriptures" till he found this was true. He would follow such guides as Wesley and Fletcher until he saw the distinction between being entirely cleansed from sin and growth in grace; between love and "perfect love;" between sanctified and "sanctified wholly." Indeed, it was certain that such a mind would be beyond the reach of confusion in regard to the real import of the blood symbol, the fire symbol, and the water symbol, as used in the Scriptures, describing with all possible distinctness the believer's privilege; and we know that he reached the full efficacy of "the blood that cleanseth from all sin."

Now we see how the common experience moves into the extraordinary; how this great leader of men would be freed from all want of tenderness and charity for the weakness of Christians, even babes in Christ; and how promptly he would be found at the head of the advancing column of progressive Christians. Now see the inflexible integrity of the constitutional man revealing the regeneration of the highest natural qualities, the substructure of natural greatness newborn; and at length, entirely "hid with Christ in God," the integrity of great natural qualities not destroyed, but renovated, the baptism of the Holy Ghost consuming the dross, and the refined gold reflecting the full image of the heavenly. Then see the race. It is in the "King's highway of holiness," in which "the ransomed of the Lord come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads." Thus is realized the full meaning of the two great commandments in "perfect love which casteth out fear."

Bishop Janes was eminently a man of prayer. He prayed

"without ceasing." He dwelt long at the throne of grace. For this he had but one reason to give—"he loved to pray." Missed, however long, by night or day, he was found alone with God, on his knees, completely wrapped in visions of the heavenly. He was going down into the unfathomable depths of the Godhead, finding new glories in redemption; taking firm hold of the throne in behalf of some precious soul, or pleading for the preachers he had stationed, or for the Church he so tenderly loved. Aroused, he was ready to say, like Xavier, "Why did you call me so soon?" Now, why should not such a man be a leader of men? Too humble to forget his own Christian infancy, mingling the life of the man in the life of a child, ready at any moment to unlock the mysteries of the kingdom for any struggler after the lowliest or grandest victories, showing that the greatest of all lives is that which is "hid with Christ in God"—a life not written, but lived.

The relation of such a life to our general subject is very evident. We seek to identify the theory and practice of Methodist Episcopacy. We wish to place in the strongest possible light the thorough Christian character of this office. It began in a great religious revival, and it is for religion only. It is true it has business to do, and a secular side. It involves great questions of temporal interests, but these are Church questions. They are all to be imbued with the Christian spirit. All this work, however business-like, must be accepted as a trust from God, and all be done for him. Natural abilities, however great, are inadequate to the tasks of such a vocation until they are fully consecrated. This is essential to the true theory of the episcopacy. None but the authority indicated by Divine Providence can render it legitimate. It is little less than profane to put prelatical or state authority in God's stead. The Head of the Church is Christ. He guides and controls its organic life. Our vindication and appeal are not to the Church of England or of Rome, but to God. We have therefore given paramount distinction to the spiritual life in characterizing the Methodist Episcopacy.

But we must recognize the successful attempt of the biographer to place in its true light the official life of Bishop Janes. He was first a minister of the Lord Jesus. To this he was called of God. It was not a profession, but a vocation. To

him this was first in solemnity and dignity. In his charges to young men he was accustomed to refer to it as the highest rank of a mortal man. It was not within the reach of human ambition. It could not be entered at pleasure nor abandoned by caprice. It allowed no indirection. True, the individual judgment must be confirmed by that of the Church, and this only ratified the call of God; and it could be only closed by the authority by which it was originated.

To this Bishop Janes held all other official rank subordinate. A man was therefore to be considered a burden bearer who was made a book agent, an editor, or a college agent or president, or Secretary of the Bible Society; and when the authority of the Church would permit, he should resume the pastoral work with gratitude and joy. The guarded manner in which he accepted position outside of the regular pastoral work shows the unaffected loyalty of his life to his most sacred convictions. He never changed his views of the paramount distinction involved in this sacred vocation. This was simply a manly subordination of the less to the greater, the human to the Divine. It was more than broad common sense. It was Christian devotion to the great system under which he held office. It was so far "the mind that was in Christ Jesus:" "It is more than my meat and my drink to do the will of my Father." It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this view of official life. The Church has suffered immensely from low views of the sacred office. How has it been degraded by secular men entering it for motives of ambition or convenience, making it the stepping-stone to preferment! The whole rank of the secular clergy must be in evidence of such profanity. How irresistible the explanation it offers of the covenant-breaking of those who hold their most sacred vows subject to convenience, and temporal gain paramount to the salvation of souls! If natural integrity should fail to counteract such dishonesty, surely the grace of the new creation should not fail. Here we have the biography of a man whose whole life is a scathing rebuke to all such trifling.

Now, treating the holy ministry as the great general fact in the official life, we are entitled to inquire what is included under it, and subordinate to the same high ends. Here we find the priesthood of believers. "Would God that all the Lord's peo-

ple were prophets." It is in the nature of Christian love to yearn for the salvation of souls. Men, women, and children, through this wonderful life, become "laborers together with God." We once heard Bishop Janes say, in a missionary sermon, "You are mistaken when you suppose that you are converted simply and chiefly for your own salvation. Your happiness is but an incident of God's plans in your conversion. No; sing, and shout, and get to heaven; but the real object is greater and grander than this. You are brought into the vineyard for laborers. You are to give up your whole lives for the salvation of the world. There is no such thing as getting to heaven alone. You must save others, or fail. Your way to heaven is through prayers, and struggles, and tears, and labors for the salvation of others." O, when will the Church rise up to the grandeur of this supreme thought of a great consecrated soul?

Then comes the evident necessity for superintendency. There is one head and one body. All the members of the body have not the same office. The number required for efficient direction cannot be fixed and definite; nor can they, in relative rank, be all continuous. The number in charge of the Apostolic Church simply met the exigencies of the time. The category of St. Paul seemed to be exhaustive. "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." But these are laborers, officers named in "the order of anticlimax;" and evidently they are not divinely appointed orders, equal in rank, and alike to be perpetuated. Apostles were not now in their original position as eye-witnesses of the miracles of Christ. This function was ended when he rose to the mediatorial throne; but radically their office was merged in that of "evangelists, prophets, and pastors," for they were "sent." They were not bishops. To sustain the prelatical idea they were twelve, and could have been neither more nor less. But then must Judas have continued to be a bishop after he was the betrayer of his Lord and a murderer. If not, then there was one too few. Peter's forwardness constituted another, and Paul was an apostle. Judas included, then, there must have been fourteen. Finally, all the bishops of Rome

and Constantinople and England must have been apostles, and having been ordained first by St. Peter and then by one of his successors, the world is and has been full of "apostles." Rather let us accept the true ministerial office of "apostles, prophets, and pastors," and expect to find them in our ministry, some "apostles," but all "πρεσβύτεροι" — "elders." Of such were "the apostles and elders at Jerusalem." Then, under the direction of overseers, all are evangelists, obeying the Lord's behest, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Whatever may have been their relations to each other, they could not stay at home and at the same time "go into all the world," and hence, "beginning at Jerusalem," they were, even under the discipline of persecution, scattered abroad, every-where preaching, and they had soon "filled the world with their doctrine." Now, let it not be supposed that all these laborers were of the same office. If they were sent out to proclaim anywhere a risen Saviour, they fell into their true positions as the superior wisdom of the elders directed, and those were overseers who were providentially fitted for that rank. Pastors and teachers of all grades were in the field, not to claim pre-eminence, but to seek and save the lost.

Organization progressed, we must admit, slowly, but rather under the control of necessity and fitness than by election. There were no state churches nor organized ecclesiastical bodies with authority to make elections or appointments. Whoever gathered souls from the world would take care of them, and intrust them to the care of the most competent, as they went on to find others to collect into churches. The "evangelists" waited for no prelatical authority, but preached the Gospel. The organizations and provisions for the holy sacraments would accompany or follow them as ordinations were effected by the elders or bishops who were of the same authority, but some were first among equals.

At length there were deacons, "ministers," who at first were appointed to serve tables, and also ordained preachers, because it appeared that they were evidently called to that sacred function—a new class of workers, but not elders.

The exact Wesleyan theory of Churchship and of organic efforts for the salvation of a world ruined by sin, and for "the

propagation of the faith" is detailed by Wesley himself in the Minutes for 1745:

The plain origin of Church government seems to be this: Christ sends forth a preacher of the Gospel. Some who hear him repent and believe the Gospel. They then desire him to watch over them, to build them up in the faith, and to guide their souls in the path of righteousness. Here, then, is an independent congregation, subject to no pastor but their own, neither liable to be controlled in things spiritual by any other men or body of men whatever.

But, soon after, some from other parts, who are occasionally present when he speaks in the name of Him that sent him, beseech him to come over to help them also. Knowing it to be the will of God, he consents, yet not till he has conferred with the wisest and holiest of his congregation, and with their advice appointed one or more who have gifts and grace to watch over the flock till his return. If it pleases God to raise another flock in the new place, before he leaves them he does the same thing, appointing one whom God has fitted to watch over those souls also. In like manner in every place where it pleases God to gather a little flock by his word, he appoints one in his absence to take the oversight of the rest, and to assist them of the abilities which God giveth. These are *deacons* or servants of the Church, and they look on the first pastor as their common father. And all these congregations regard him in the same light, and esteem him still as the shepherd of their souls. These congregations are not absolutely independent. They depended on one pastor, though not on each other. As these congregations increase, and as their deacons grow in years and grace, they need other subordinate deacons or helpers, in respect of whom they may be called *presbyters* or elders, as their father in the Lord may be called bishop or overseer of them all.

These clear words detail the actual methods of Providence in "planting and training the Christian Churches," from the days of the apostles, throughout the world to the present time. Missionary power and revivals of religion outrun formal methods, the grace of God in Christ Jesus "*preventing*," going before and working with, the great evangelists and humble lay-workers as well. Would it be incumbent upon each man who should act under the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls to show his authority with accurate detail from St. Peter before he could venture to preach Christ to souls on the way to ruin, or group the young converts into Church relations? He could not. There are no such records. The fire breaks out in places widely apart. No human skill can identify its genesis.

Might no sinners be "called out of darkness into God's marvelous light" until some man should appear who could by indubitable evidence trace his official authority back to the apostles? Nothing could be more absurd nor more contrary to the facts of history or the Divine plans. Would the Lord Jesus confine himself to the Church of England, and, until that authority could be obtained, might no one gather souls into a Church in America until a successor of St. Peter or the laws of England should permit? Then, alas for the world! Then a State Church might forbid Mr. Wesley to send Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury to America, and put an end to the great revivals rapidly spreading over a continent. Souls must go to hell by the million unless the Bishop of London or some other prelate would ordain a Bishop for America, subject to the laws of England. Let "the Church" mean the Church of England, and those who have true ordination by her gracious authority, and what would be the state of Christendom! Reduced to strict High-Church religious prerogatives, the Church would mean the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church, and the English and American Episcopal Churches, with the power to excommunicate each other, and the rest of the converted redeemed millions must be handed over to "the uncovenanted mercies of God," as all heathen people are.

It is strange that the advocates of prelacy have taken a hundred years to find out that Episcopal Methodists have never had any desire to prove the legitimacy of their orders as proceeding from the Church of England, or any real or pretended successors of the apostles; that from and after 1738 the great Wesley found a divine order paramount to the human. Let it be known to all High Churchmen that they can do us no greater favor than to prove that our Episcopacy has not come directly or legitimately from the Church of England. We know, to our great satisfaction, that it has not. We should be deeply distressed if they should fail to prove that it had not come from Rome, or Constantinople, or Scotland. If we have no higher authority for our work of gathering from the world the largest voluntary Church known in history, and giving the holy sacraments and Christian nurture to our growing millions, we should be filled with dismay. We repudiate what these unhistoric men propose when they wish to give us "holy orders"

as not only untrue but impious. After the most thorough and scholarly examination Wesley found at length that these High Church claims, including his own, were utterly unsustained, and took his place with those Church scholars who entirely repudiated them, and proceeded to put the divine above the human and take the charge of the great Church of the future of which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer. From motives of expediency he dallied too long with his own early prejudices and those of his brother and others, and the people who had been saved through his labors were left without the sacraments, and great disasters followed. History has fully confirmed the judgment which he formed, and makes of holiest authority the ordinances which he gave to the Methodist Episcopal Church. That Church by its own act demonstrated the original authority of its apostolic eldership by accepting and electing its bishops. It was, therefore, impossible to maintain that Mr. Wesley instituted any form of succession to Methodist Episcopacy. It was null and void until it was constituted and rendered official by the free act of the ministry in conference assembled. Even Mr. Wesley did not renounce one form of historic fiction for another constituted by himself. He was our Father-Bishop, and if there should be anywhere any Methodist superintendency which did not come through Wesley, or Coke, or Asbury, it could not be held invalid.

But how many *orders* in Methodist Episcopacy? This seems, by the sense given to the word, to be a question of "divine right." We use it not as denoting a divinely authorized classification of ministers. History does not dictate to us. We adopt what seems nearest to the methods of apostolic times. We, therefore, have three classes. The earliest Church order seemed to Mr. Wesley and to our conference to crystallize around three classes. They were not held as under "orders *jure divino*." Mr. Wesley had been accustomed to them as a scriptural and orderly method of Church organization. He, therefore, sent them to us with three distinct forms of ordination corresponding to these "orders." He might have given us one only, but it would have been for our ministry to determine whether it should be one, two, or three. But, agreeing with Mr. Wesley, they accepted three. When they differed from him, even in the use of terms, they used their own words,

and hence they had bishops and elders instead of superintendents and priests. This proves no servility, and changes nothing.

The authority of Methodist Episcopacy is simply that of *one* of the providential adjustments to the great plans of God for the salvation of men. And, as such, it is as far above prelacy as the divine is above the human, and is subject to no arraignment before either ecclesiastical or state judicatories.

It is, moreover, most orderly in its methods. It fully acknowledges the right of churches to adopt such modes of government as seem most suitable to their high purposes, there being, in our judgment, no scriptural authority to forbid the exercise of their high and godly discretion with respect to forms. But when such forms are agreed upon by any organization, the persons in whom such authority is vested are amenable to the discipline of such organization. This is the spirit of our Twenty-second Article:

> It is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same, or exactly alike; for they have been always different, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and are ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, that others may fear to do the like, as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren. Every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification.*

When, therefore, all the power necessary for efficiency is vested in the Methodist Episcopacy, its high officers are amenable to the General Conference for the proper interpretation and administration of the office, and all administrators are held accountable for just conformity to the regulations and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Advancing further in attempts to define the "theory and practice of Methodist Episcopacy," it must be entirely paternal in its exercise of authority. This is a fact which need not be defined in words. It is in the nature of the office. No respon-

* This is Article XXXIX of the Church of England, which has "*traditions*;" Mr. Wesley has "*rites*."

sibility can be more critical than that which is held by a Methodist bishop. He may be moved by a godly jealousy for the honor and efficiency of the ministerial office, and must be a man of inflexible integrity and firmness in every thing fundamental to the great itinerant system; but he cannot be arbitrary nor abusive in what he does or in the manner of doing it. No ecclesiastical authority can be more respectful to the rights and judgments of men than that which sits as umpire between two parties which have agreed to submit their most sacred interests to his godly judgment. He must study the wants and will of the people, and the conditions of pastors, and even their families, with prayerful, thoughtful, loving tenderness. There must be no end to his patience but what time imposes in hearing petitions and all reasons, real or even unreal. Both ministers and people must believe in his entirely unselfish impartiality; so that, when personal or local interests clash, all parties will believe that, however fallible his judgment, it is thoroughly righteous in its intentions.

This truly paternal spirit is the only adequate explanation of one of the most remarkable facts in history. For more than a hundred years the Methodist Episcopacy has been sustained by the people in the exercise of its high authority in this paternal spirit; and we are willing to be responsible for the opinion that it could not survive the destruction of this spirit.

But it is time to give prominence to the fact that this is an itinerant general superintendency. (See Discipline, ¶ 160.) It is the duty of the bishop "to travel at large through the Connection; to oversee the spiritual and temporal business of our Church." ¶ 162. "If a bishop cease from traveling at large among the people without the consent of the General Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise in any degree the episcopal office in our Church."

The field of a Methodist bishop is large, his travels are enormous; but he must travel his life out. However much or little of honor and domestic comfort his brethren in the ministry may have, his must be chiefly sacrificed. The people whom he must serve are hundreds, even thousands, of miles away; but, as far as practicable, he must go to them. He cannot appoint the preachers, averaging about a thousand a year, without reaching them; whether they are in America, or Europe, or

Asia, or Africa, he must go to their fields. He cannot judge of the condition and wants of "the people" without "traveling at large among them." This is no fiction. Let the apostolic Asbury represent this grand itinerancy:

> Methodism, thus planted in America, continued to spread in every part of the great republic under the apostolic labors of Francis Asbury, whose incessant activity emulated the enterprise of Wesley and the burning fervor of John Nelson and Thomas Walsh. No labors could exhaust, no difficulties could conquer, the energies of that devoted man. He forded rivers, he penetrated forests, he tracked the footsteps of the hardy emigrant to the uttermost settlement, and carried the Gospel to the remotest bounds of civilization. He was, indeed, a bishop of the primitive type, in labors abundant, in perils oft; and amid his incessant and arduous toils, by night as well as by day, carrying with him the care of all the churches of his ever-widening episcopate. His contemporaries labored with corresponding zeal and self-denial. His successors have carried on the great work transmitted to their hands, and copious showers of blessings have poured upon their churches.

We cannot raise the question of equality of zeal and moral power with this great man. We may, however, express the opinion that no man, living or dead, ever more thoroughly sustained this apostolic precedent than Bishop Janes. It may be, moreover, stated that the modes of modern travel render it possible for later incumbents of the office to extend their visitations far beyond what was possible in the days of Asbury. Such work as our bishops are doing in the United States, British America, Europe, Asia, and Africa would be impossible without steamboats and railroads. It is of no use to attempt to compute in miles the travels of a Methodist bishop.

But the Methodist episcopacy is general and connectional, not diocesan nor local. Its field is the world. Interfering with no man's rights, respecting the claims of non-episcopal churches, whether Wesleyan or others, it is otherwise without limits. It may arrange for a wise division of labor, but it is everywhere one. Each surveys the field for all, and, assembled once a year or oftener, the information acquired from the whole work reaches every bishop. There is no conflict of jurisdiction or administration. Taking the Methodist Episcopal Church as representative of the whole, when there are thirteen bishops, if one is non-effective the others divide his work among

them. If four bishops die in a year, their places are promptly filled by the survivors. The whole Connection feels this unity and finds itself under one administration. Ten thousand effective ministers appointed to as many charges by *eight* men feel the presence of the same power and enjoy practically the same rights.

A full understanding of the superintendency of Episcopal Methodism must include the Presiding Eldership. It is easy to see that a small number of bishops cannot directly and personally supervise interests so vast and extended. To bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the narrow boundaries of a diocese make such limited and local superintendence possible, but necessarily destroy general jurisdiction, and make episcopacy comparatively insignificant. But the charge of a great connection extending around the globe must require the subordinate superintendency of a large number of men.

Now, in our system the essential episcopacy resides in the eldership. Elders may, therefore, be assigned such functions as the efficiency of the organization requires, and thus in all subdivisions of the field the general superintendency may be present in vital force and connectional unity. Thus our supervision becomes universal in extent and minute and local in detail. This, as well as other great features of every form of Methodism, arose providentially. First, we had but few elders, and they must travel at large to administer the sacraments. Then their larger experience must guide the younger ministry, generally not in orders, and see to the exercise of healthy discipline. Hence, in fixing the appointments, the bishops detailed to this local superintendency the men deemed most suitable, and they became "Presiding Elders," and it was found that their superior knowledge of the men and the work qualified them to give valuable and indispensable advice in regard to the appointments, and they were called by the bishops to this function in annual council. Presiding elders, therefore, have become a fundamental part of the general superintendency.

It will be seen that our churches are one great Church, all living and acting as one Connection, under the same discipline, and the same general superintendency. Exceptional and

disagreeable features, to which a part are liable, may come alike to all or any. This system is distinguished from all others by the fact that every class is subject to appointment. The first classification is, a few members under a leader, and he is appointed, not elected. Several classes are one charge under a pastor, and he is appointed, not elected. Several charges constitute a district, under a presiding elder, and he is appointed, not elected. Several districts make an annual conference under a bishop, and he is appointed to the particular conference—elected as a bishop, but not to be the bishop of any special conference. Thus the whole itinerant system is administered by appointments—unquestionably more self-sacrificing and efficient than any other method. This law of appointment binds the whole system together, and leaves every man responsible to his peers, but free from all control and dictation from what in politics is known as a constituency, and at full liberty to obey God rather than man—the highest freedom in the high duties of ecclesiastical responsibilities under the great Head of the Church. Methodist Episcopacy is, therefore, a part of a great connectional system. It must, therefore, be adjusted to the analogies of the itinerancy. One great delegated body, the General Conference, is over the whole Church—the people, deacons, elders, bishops.

The wisdom of this system is vindicated by the history of a hundred years. As to the time of pastoral service, other systems have become gradually assimilated to it. It has become distinguished for its regularity, and is approved by other Churches which can hardly by possibility effect their necessary changes without disorder; and after large experience we are able to state that it is so honored and trusted by our people that they would accept no other. Instances of disloyalty upon the part of ministers and people are so few compared with our vast numbers, that no candid historian would feel at liberty to take notice of them.

This is the theory of our Episcopacy. In practice we are far from perfect. We claim no infallibility. No doubt many sad defects mark the administration, which greatly mar the system. It is, however, no vain boast to say that, judged by the history of a century, it stands in efficiency at the head of all Church systems.

But the great life of Bishop Janes was his practical life. This includes all the others. They were what he was; this, what he did. He was strong in the elements of a true manhood. This was valuable for ascendency over men to influence and save them. For the same high purpose he used the art of persuasion. In his sermons and addresses it was always evident that he wanted something of importance done. He was a calm but energetic administrator, but it was that law might be revered and order prevail. He was a strong Christian, but to enlighten others he would let his light shine. Hence we say that all his lives were merged in this great life. Some of my readers will remember his remarkable address before the Preachers' Meeting, in Bromfield-street, Boston. He laid aside his robes of office which he knew so well how to wear, and showed us simply a human soul worth nothing excepting for what it did for the Master. How he thrilled us when he said: "You'll see nothing of Bishop Janes in heaven. Only your brother, a man saved by grace, will appear there. You need not look for a bishop in heaven. This is a part of my work here, but I shall not be needed in my office there. We shall be glorified together, and only what we have done will be known or mentioned there."

Thus we reach the most remarkable purpose of a great life. In this the man lives after he is dead, lives through working forces on earth. There is, we believe, more of Bishop Janes on earth than in heaven. No Conference, hardly any man in our ministry, not one of our greatest institutions, is without him. Very little for a quarter of a century is merely what it would have been if he had not lived. His biographer had to deal with this life. I saw some portions of it, but never without feeling that it mastered me; so I believe it was with all his colleagues. It was perhaps the clearest exposition of the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopacy extant at the time of his death.

Art. VII. — THE GREAT CONVENT OF SAN FRANCISCO IN MEXICO CITY.

As is well known to many, nunneries and convents have been abolished in the whole of Mexico. By law, no nun or monk can now exist on the soil of that country. Even the order of Sisters of Charity has been suppressed. There may be in some places evasions of the legal prohibition, but such is the statute law of the land. The vast buildings once occupied by the nuns and monks have all been confiscated by the government, together with several of the large Roman Catholic churches, and are now used, some as Protestant churches, some as schools, some as libraries, some as stores, and some as private dwellings.

The great convent of San Francisco is especially interesting to two denominations of Christians, the Methodist Episcopal and the Protestant Episcopal. The former occupies the cloisters of San Francisco as its church and the headquarters of its missions in Mexico. They were purchased by the late Bishop Gilbert Haven, and came into the possession of our Church while the Rev. William Butler, D.D., and the writer were laboring in the city of Mexico. The Protestant Episcopal Church, the Mexican branch of which is called, in Mexico, "The Church of Jesus," established there by Bishop Riley, occupies the audience-room, and some others parts of the convent.

The accommodations for each are ample: but ample as they are, they form only a part of the original structure, as will be seen from a description we shall presently give of the convent buildings. It cannot fail to be of interest, however, to look back first, and learn when, and how, and by whom, this immense structure was founded.

It appears that when Cortes invaded and conquered the country he was accompanied by five friars, or that they came almost immediately after him. The names of two of them have been lost, but of three they are recorded as Fray Pedro de Gante, Fray Juan de Tecto, and Fray Juan de Aora. Five years later, Spain sent a strong body of additional missionaries, consisting of thirteen monks, as a re-enforcement, in order to convert the Aztecs. The chief of these was Fray Martin de

Valencia. They entered the capital in the year 1524, and were the founders of the convent of San Francisco. Immediately they commenced the work of leading the Aztecs into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Their reception in Mexico City is thus graphically described by a Spanish writer: "As they tread the streets of the capital, they are received by the acclamations of the people. Cortes, and the other conquerors, in company with the remains of the Mexican (Aztec) nobility, salute them, prostrating themselves in their presence, and putting their hands to their lips. The natives stand by in silence and look upon the scene."

Other bodies of monks came subsequently from Spain, manifesting the great earnestness of the Church of Rome for the conversion of the original inhabitants of Mexico. It is needless to say that their zeal was crowned with wonderful success, as the whole country is now considered a Roman Catholic country—a zeal which we may well emulate in bringing this beautiful land to a purer faith.

Many of these friars or early missionaries, to whom we have referred, though Roman Catholic in name, and differing from us in faith, were no doubt men of pure and holy lives, who had only the glory of God in view as they left their country and came to a strange land. We must remember that the great Reformation had not yet broken out, and that the lines of demarkation between truth and error in doctrine were not as distinctly drawn as they have been in subsequent times.

It is related of Martin de Valencia, the chief of the missionary band, that one day before he left Spain he was reading in the church where he officiated, a passage from Isaiah, and he became so wrapt up in an ecstasy at the thought of God's coming kingdom that he stopped reading, and, full of joy, exclaimed, "*Loado sea Jesucristo! Loado sea Jesucristo! Loado sea Jesucristo!* (Praised be Jesus Christ!) His brethren thought he was crazy, and shut him up in a cell, where he remained during the day, spending much of his time in prayer, and frequently repeating: "O! when shall it be? When shall this prophecy be fulfilled? Shall I be counted worthy to behold it?"

When this monk arrived in Mexico his mode of evangelizing the Aztecs merits our attention, perhaps our imitation.

His favorite occupation was in giving lessons to the children, laying, as it were, his dignity and talents at their feet, and sitting down among them as one of themselves.

"No less beautiful," says the Spanish author we have referred to, "was the picture of the people singing hymns together like one family: the rich, the poor; the servants, the masters; the caciques and their vassals, all mingling together without distinction." Amid a crowd of people the monks would commence some simple melody, repeat it over and over, or, as it was among the early Methodists, line it out, and by dint of perseverance get the words and tune into the minds of the people, who would then join in the song.

The monks applied themselves with great assiduity to the acquisition of the Aztec language, making use of the children principally as their instructors. They attempted at first to teach them Latin prayers, but soon finding this unprofitable they desisted. An account is given of a Spanish boy who, by frequent association with the Aztec children, became so familiar with the language that he spoke it as his native tongue. The friars, seeing their advantage, took this boy with them in their preaching tours, and made him not only an interpreter, but an evangelist. At every step of their progress in turning the Aztecs from idolatry, we are informed, they made use of this instrumentality. One of the historians of the period remarks: "If these children had not helped in the work of conversion, and the interpreters alone had to do the work, it seems to me that it would have been just as the Bishop of Tlaxcallan wrote to the emperor, 'We, the bishops, without the interpreters, are like dumb falcons, and thus are the friars without the children.'"

We read of one Aztec chief who employed himself in bringing the Indian children to the convent of San Francisco, children who appeared to have been chosen by him for their capacity, excelling others in the convent who had been longer under instruction.

Every one knows, who has been at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico, that it fronts on the street called Gante. It is so named from Pedro de Gante, one of the first Roman Catholic missionaries, of whom it was said that as many as a hundred churches in Mexico owed their erection to him. He founded the college of San Juan de Letran, the buildings

of which have been confiscated, and in which the English Protestant services have long been held in Mexico. Perhaps the good friar, as he looks down from heaven, and sees how his brethren have departed from his zeal and earnest piety, is just as well pleased to behold the present use of the college he founded as if he saw it in the possession of his own Church.

As an illustration of the labors of these zealous monks among the children, a Spanish writer records a touching story of the martyrdom of an Aztec boy. His name was Cristobal; he was of the age of twelve, the son of an Indian chieftain called Acxotecatl. The child was sent to the convent of San Francisco, and there appears to have learned the glad tidings of a crucified Saviour. He was baptized, and with great earnestness immediately began to manifest the fruits of conversion in teaching and exhorting the vassals of Acxotecatl.

But Cristobal labored more especially for his father, whose hands were stained with crime and blood, and who, by frequent intoxication, rendered himself incapable of profiting by the instructions of his son. The boy, however, by unwearied effort urged him to renounce his idol worship, abstain from drink, and "turn to God and Jesus Christ, his Son, who would pardon him." Finding his efforts vain, he adopted more energetic measures, and threw out the wine which his father was in the habit of drinking, and broke in pieces the idols which he worshiped. The servants of Acxotecatl came to him, saying: "Thy son Cristobal breaks thy gods and ours, and spills all the wine he can find. This is a reproach both to thee and to us."

The father sent for his boy, and with an oaken club beat him until his limbs were broken, and he lay before him a mass of blood, the poor child constantly crying to God in his own Aztec tongue: "Lord God, have mercy on me; and if it be thy will that I should die, let me die. If it please thee that I should live, save me from this cruelty of my father." The mother of Cristobal rushed to the spot exclaiming, "Why do you kill my son? Let me carry him away, and then kill me, but spare my child."

Acxotecatl commanded his servants to take her away, and she was violently dragged from the place; whereupon the cruel father ordered a fire to be made, and as the flames rose

high, threw the boy into them. When he struggled back he threw him again and again into the flames, until his back and breast were blistered with the fire. He lived, notwithstanding, until the next day, when the child-martyr sent for his unnatural parent and said to him: "*O! padre, no pienses que estoy enojado. Porque yo estoy muy alegre, y sabete que me has hecho mas honra que no vale tu senorio.*" ("O father! do not think that I am angry. Indeed, I am very joyful, and I wish you to know that you have conferred an honor upon me of more value than all the honors of your rank.") Cristobal then called for drink, and as he drank, his pure spirit passed away.

These early friars, we repeat, labored with great zeal and earnestness for the propagation of their faith. They effected something, and it is but fair to give them honor for all they accomplished. We find in the early annals of the country a constant struggle between them and the rough soldiers of Cortez as to the enslaving of the natives, and the friars succeeded in preventing it. They abolished also the bloody rites of the Aztec priesthood.

But the time came when the successors of these devoted missionaries departed from their piety and zeal, and, in the language of a Spanish historian, became a body without a soul. Whatever of spirituality there may have been in the preaching of Martin de Valencia, Pedro de Gante, and their associates, then disappeared, and rites and ceremonies alone were the means of supposed conversion. The touch of a priestly hand, a few drops of oil or water from priestly fingers, were a guaranty of paradise. And while great multitudes of the Mexican people apparently adopted the Christian religion, and were called Christians, there was no change in their moral nature, and no Christianity whatever. They continued to be the same idolaters that they were before. There was only a change in the names of their idols. The Aztec image was christened San Pedro or Santa Maria, and the worship was continued the same as before. It is the same old Aztec idolatry which still exists under the name of Christianity.

The Indians, or pure Aztecs, form now about three quarters of the inhabitants of the country. These are unmixed with Spanish blood. They are met with every-where throughout city and country. Very many of them in the rural districts

cannot speak Spanish at all—only Aztec, and need instruction and the evangelizing power of the Gospel as much as when Cortez invaded the country. In some places they have not even changed the name of the old Mexican idol to the Christian saint. A single example is sufficient. In one region there is a church which for half of the year is dedicated to a Romish saint—for the other half to an Aztec god.

Intelligent Spanish gentlemen in Mexico feel the need of true Christian instruction for this class of people. When we were in Mexico, an influential owner of an estate, an officer in the army, who, as he stated to us, had hundreds of Aztecs on his plantation, came to us and begged us to send a minister with him, who could reside on his estate, and whom he would support, to preach to these original inhabitants of Mexico. But alas! we had no one to send.

It is a singular and suggestive fact that two Protestant churches are occupying the building of the first and greatest convent in Mexico, the convent which once had hardly a parallel for size and beauty in any part of the world. We translate some descriptions of it, as it was before its confiscation by the government, from a Spanish work, entitled, "Los Conventos Suprimidos," page 335, etc.

This immense edifice, which, in a religious aspect, has not an equal in the country, has always enjoyed a well-merited celebrity for the beauty of its church and chapels, for the amplitude of its cloisters, and their adjoining apartments, and for the magnificent ornaments and artistic riches which it contains. It was the admiration of natives and strangers in our day, and the church, in particular, was always considered a resort for the most distinguished of our society, who there celebrated the divine offices with surprising splendor and pomp.

It contains three hundred cells or sleeping rooms, besides the sleeping rooms in the *altos*. It has two cloisters, [that is, one above and one below, both of which are included in the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church,] the lower one of which is adorned with large pictures from the famous pencil of Baltasar de Chavez, in which is recorded all the life of San Francisco. At the tables in the refectory more than five hundred friars can be seated at one time. In the church there is a thorn of the crown of Christ, with a piece of the wood of the cross and relics of the twelve apostles. [The historian, no doubt, thought these relics were genuine.] Here, also is a picture of Hernando Cortez, and at the foot of the picture is a small trunk containing his bones and those of his son, the Marquis D. Martin Cortez.

It is known by tradition that the convent is built on the very spot which was occupied by the garden of Montezuma—a garden which adjoined his palace, and which contained his plants, wild beasts, birds, and fishes. It formed the first parish on the American continent, and in it was held the first auto of the Inquisition and the first confirmations.

We have given only brief extracts from the descriptions of this wonderful edifice. We might weary the reader with an account of its valuable and numerous paintings, its statues, its riches in gold; but we have said enough to convey an idea of what the convent once was. We come to the hour at which it was confiscated by the government.

On the night of the 14th of September, 1856, a Mexican lady came to the palace of the President of Mexico and begged that he would grant her an audience. Some days before this there had been rumors that a secret revolution was in contemplation against the government, and that various meetings were held in the convent of San Francisco to promote it, that arms and ammunition were stored there, and that several of the monks were taking part in it. The Mexican lady, on being introduced to the President, said: "Your Excellency will allow me to speak freely?" "Speak, *señora*." "There is a revolution against the government.". "Who is concerned in it?" "The monks of San Francisco." "Have they an organization?" "Their organization is perfect. The convent is stored with arms, which your Excellency will find on visiting it, and there is not a moment to be lost." "Have they fixed upon any time?" "The day after to-morrow they intend to strike the blow which will make them masters of Mexico."

The President was prompt in his action, for on the morning of the 15th the city was surprised as they beheld what had taken place at San Francisco. The doors of the convent were shut, the friars were prisoners, double guards of soldiers stood around the building, and a multitude of people gathered to learn what had taken place.

On the following day a decree was passed by the government containing two clauses: First, a street, to be called *Calle Independencia*, was to be opened within fifteen days through the center of the convent; second, the buildings which were in the way, and which formed part of the convent, were to be demolished. The next day, September 17, 1856,

another decree was passed in the following words: "The convent of San Francisco in the city of Mexico is suppressed, and its buildings confiscated, their product, when sold, to be divided between the orphanage, lunatic asylum, hospital, secondary college of education for children, and the school of arts and sciences, in the city of Mexico."

There was an admirable promptness on the part of the government; the decrees were not only passed, but carried into immediate effect. The street called "Independencia" was cut through a part of the convent at some distance both from the cloister and the audience-room. Chambers could be seen, even at the time we were in Mexico, divided in two, gaping on the street, and the thick stone walls of partitions cut away, just as the work of demolition had left them. Even the figures on the cells as they had been numbered when the monks inhabited them, were visible from the street.

After the suppression of the convent, the buildings were sold according to the decree of the government, and an enterprising gentleman purchased the cloisters, put a roof upon the quadrangular space within the arches, on columns, in the form of a dome, with windows in it above for light and ventilation, and opened a grand circus, called in the city of Mexico "The Circus de Chiarini."

The center space recently roofed, where now the Gospel is proclaimed, formed the ring in which the equestrians performed, the horses raced, and the clowns joked. The space behind the pillars, the long and wide galleries, were occupied by the spectators.

From the Church to the circus was a singular transformation, but still another change awaited the spot ere it became vocal with the sounds of prayer and hymns of religious and joyful praise. It was again sold, and the new purchaser opened a theater called the "Variety Theater," part of the space recently roofed over forming the pit, the rest of the stage and beyond, on one side, where the pillars had now been taken away, the recitation and green rooms. The reader will bear in mind, however, that the pillars had been taken away from one side only; they still remain on the other three sides.

It was when it was occupied as a theater that the late Bishop Gilbert Haven purchased the property. The day that posses-

sion was obtained we visited the spot. It seemed as if a play might have been enacted the very night before. There were the side-curtains and back-scenes, and ropes to move them, reaching to the top of the building, and pulleys apparently so high up when we mounted to them that it seemed like looking down from some high steeple. There were the foot-lights at the front of the stage, and the seats of the orchestra beyond, and outside of the pit the galleries or arches were filled with seats, rising one above the other, except a space near the stage, where private boxes were partitioned off. It was a work of some months to prepare it for our Church services. Dr. Butler superintended the work, and labored at it night and day with great energy. The galleries were partitioned off, leaving the pillars in sight, and the part which the owner of the circus had covered with a roof or dome became our Church. The galleries are used for lecture-room, school-rooms, printing-offices, etc.

Besides all this space connected with the cloisters proper, two dwellings were erected in front over the large hall or vestibule, one on the second, the other on the third story, the custom in Mexico being for each family to occupy a flat, the third story often being preferred to the second.

Thus, where the monks walked, meditated, and we hope prayed, Methodist prayers and Methodist hymns are now offered and sung, and the convent which for centuries was the pride and boast of Romanism has become the center of evangelical and missionary work.

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Religious Rights of Catholics in Public Institutions; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 2. Modern Spiritism versus Christianity; by Rev. J. F. X. Hoeffer, S.J. 3. The Existence of God Demonstrated. On What Grounds Does the Atheist Deny the Existence of God?—Conclusion; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 4. "The New French Minister of Public Instruction." Reply to the "Harpers'" Latest Calumny; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 5. An Irish Government for Ireland; by John Boyle O'Reilly. 6. The Practice of Shaving in the Latin Church; by Most Rev. Charles J. Seghers, D.D. 7. The Papacy and the European Powers. 1870–1882. By John MacCarthy. 8. The Monks of Old; by Rev. Edward F. X. McSweeny, D.D. 9. England's Return to the Faith; by John Charles Earle, B.A., Oxon. 10. The Cincinnati Pastoral and its Critics.

Baptist Quarterly Review, April, May, June, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. John Tauler; by Rev. George B. Gow. 2. The Divorce of Spirituality and Integrity; by Rev. C. B. Crane, D.D. 3. The Decline of Infant Baptism; by Henry C. Vedder. 4. The Dharmâshâstra; or, Buddhist Laws of Menu; by Rev. W. H. Sloan. 5. Popular Elements in Christ's Preaching; by Rev. S. Dryden Phelps. 6. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church; by Prof. O. S. Stearns.

Christian Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. The Atonement; by Thomas Munnell, A.M. 2. The Plane of Salvation; by H. Christopher, A.M., M.D. 3. Were the Bible and Its Religion Plagiarized from other Religions and their Sacred Books, Legends, and Myths? by Clark Braden. 4. Oaths, Judicial and Profane; by G. T. Carpenter, A.M. 5. A Doubt raised Concerning the Typical Nature of Old Testament Institutions; by A. B. Jones, A.M. 6. Christian Citizenship with Reference to the Liquor Traffic; by E. L. Dohoney, LL.B. 7. The Simplicity of the Gospel; by W. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 8. Popular Literature and Public Morals; by F. D. Srygley, A.M. 9. The Apostleship vs. Apostolic Succession; by John T. Walsh. 10. The True Mission of the Church; by F. D. Power, A.M.

Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. What will the Negro do with Himself? by John Miller McKee. 2. What is Presbyterianism? Does it exist Jure Divino? by J. C. Provine, D.D. 3. The Attitude of Prayer; by Rev. C. P. Duvall. 4. The Canterbury Bible; by Rev. W. H. Crawford. 5. Meaning of the Word Sanctify; by B. W. McDonnold, D.D., LL.D. 6. Animal Heat; by Prof. J. I. D. Hinds, Ph.D. 7. Pharaoh's Hardening; by J. M. Howard, D.D. 8. The Resurrection; selected by W. R. Stewart, Esq. 9. The Value of the Soul; by Rev. W. S. Danley.

Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Essential Unity of Protestant Christianity; by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A.M. 2. The Translated Portions of Luther's Writings; by Rev. John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 3. The Necessity of the Atonement; by Rev. P. Bergstresser, D.D. 4. Inauguration of Rev. Alfred Hiller. 5. The Pulpit from the Pew; by Rev. H. L. Dox, A.M. 6. Practical Objections to Chiliasm; by Rev. Prof. J. I. Miller, A.M. 7. Education in the South; by John E. Bushnell, A.M.

New Englander, May, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. Spiritism (so-called) a Scientific Question; by H. Ulrici. Translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 2. The Progress of Humane Action in Christendom; by Rev. E. Woodward Brown. 3. The Charter of Yale College. The Import and Reach of its Several Changes; by William Bliss, Esq. 4. Historic Stages of the Theory of the Atonement; by Rev. James B. Gregg. 5. The Principles of Church Polity; by Rev. Wm. H. Fenn. 6. The Folk Songs of the Färöe Islands; by William Howard Carpenter.

Presbyterian Review, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Messianic Kingdom; by Rev. Chas. Elliott, D.D. 2. The Homiletical Value of Wordsworth's Poetry; by Rev. John DeWitt, D.D. 3. John Mitchell Mason; by Rev. C. Van Santvoord, D.D. 4. The Majesty of God as Revealed by Modern Stellar Astronomy; by Prof. Jermain G. Porter, A.M. 5. Is Total Abstinence True Temperance? by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D. 6. The Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort; by Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D. 7. The Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen; by Prof. Henry P. Smith.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, April, 1882. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Halieutics. 2. Dr. Adam Clarke and His Biographers. 3. The Ecumenical Conference. 4. The Late Bishop Wightman. 5. The Approaching General Conference. 6. John Wesley Neither an Autocrat nor a Bigot. 7. The First Duty of the Church. 8. The New Revision Reviewed.

Universalist Quarterly, April, 1882. (Boston.)—1. The Attitude of the Universalist Church Toward Skepticism; by I. M. Atwood, D.D. 2. Mrs. Judith Murry; by Rev. Richard Eddy. 3. Origin an Indication of Destiny; by Rev. R. P. Ambler. 4. Classical Studies; by Prof. Wm. D. Shipman. 5. Ireland; by G. H. Emerson, D.D. 6. Use of the Greek Verb Μελλω by the Sacred Writers; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 7. The Catacombs of Rome; Their History and Uses; by Rev. A. B. Grosh.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Speculative Consequences of Evolution; by Alexander Winchell, LL.D. 2. Science and Revelation; by J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D. 3. English Philosophy; by Rev. J. W. Mendenhall, Ph.D. 4. The Ego in Consciousness; by Llewelyn D. Bevan, D.D. 5. Historical.

This Quarterly, by its very significant name, frankly avows its purpose of meeting the assaults of anti-Christianity upon our religion. It promises by its performances to do effective service, and is worthy of all patronage, and worth its price to its subscribers.

The main article of the number is the first, the article of Dr. Winchell on Evolution.

In his introduction, Dr. Winchell complains, with some justice, of the misrepresentations that have been put upon evolutionists by their opponents. Dr. Winchell has been subjected to hard dealing; and that, too, when he has wished to serve the cause of Christian truth, and has endeavored to explain his views in an explicit manner. But his present statement seems somewhat one-sided. First, leading evolutionists who are very careless of avowing themselves on momentous truths are themselves the blamable party if they are misunderstood. Newton, to whom Darwin has been compared by his more unwise admirers, was alive to the bearings of his discoveries on Theism. He avowed himself fully, and in the loftiest language. But the language of Darwin, while the entire range of his theory, as by him stated, is anti-teleological, so very slightly alludes to the Divine Being as to compel the impression that he was very insensible to the truth of God. And systematically, at the present day, our scientists largely are not only reticent as to the Divine Existence, and vocally indifferent whether Theism or Atheism rules the public mind, but every thing religious is excluded under a rule of scientific etiquette. If they are then looked upon as truly *indifferent*, their own is the blame. Second, Dr. Winchell complains that "multitudes of men imagine evolution and Darwinism to be synonymous terms, if they do not even believe them synonymous with materialism, as is so often charged." But why does not Dr. Winchell candidly tell us that it is evolutionists themselves who generally so "imagine"? Read our book-notice of Dr. Hodge, and tell us where lies this responsibility. Read the bitter libels of Smalley and the "Independent" on

the great body of our ministry and Church for not swallowing Darwin entire. Darwin, with them, is evolution. And notice, too, how Dr. Hodge is sacrificed to the manes of Darwin without the slightest recognition of Dr. Hodge's personal delicacy toward Darwin, his exoneration of the great scientist from the charge of atheism, monism, or materialism, and his basing his criticism purely on the anti-teleology of Darwin's argumentations. In fact, Dr. Hodge was condemned without being read, on the assumption beforehand that he did not give due homage to the great fetich. And Dr. Hodge is taken as a standing specimen of the hostile spirit of our entire religious press toward Mr. Darwin—which is unintentional truth. For the assumption that that press has been unfair is just as true and just as false as it is of Dr. Hodge. The writer spoke, not what he knew to be true, but what he supposed to be true, because he was fully predetermined it must be true and should be true. It may be in fairness added that the bitterest of these diatribes comes generally not from scientific men, but from writers (like Andrew C. White) who have not science enough to damage their reputations, and for whose silence both sides could afford to pay a fee.

In his valuable article Dr. Winchell states the doctrine of "genetic continuity" strongly and with an array of powerful evidence. And yet, varying from the view presented in his volume on Preadamites, he makes admission of the possible break of that continuity in the case of Man.

Man's genetic continuity with the animal kingdom is a question still under consideration. It is a question not yet decided with the same unanimity as that which confirms the general doctrine of specific descent. Among existing species man stands apart, structurally and physically, by a wider interval than intervenes in any other case. Among fossil forms the links are wanting which connect living man with the world of extinct life. For these reasons it may be fairly urged, as Wallace and Mivart have urged, that judgment on man's historical relation to the animal kingdom should be held in abeyance. At the same time, man's structural affinities with other mammals are so close that a real genetic continuity seems probable.—P. 11.

But while Mivart's theory of sudden "transformation," by which a lower form becomes a higher, even a human being, with immortal endowments, meets, in perhaps a satisfactory

degree, with the doctrine of a personal Adam, Dr. Winchell has himself, in a former publication, placed before our American public a still more satisfactory statement. It was he who first furnished to us the testimony of Barrande. It was he who pronounced the name of Barrande as eminent in paleontology as Grant in politics, at the time that Grant was President. Barrande has since that time prosecuted his researches in paleontology to still greater results. And Barrande asserts (see our April Quarterly, p. 384) that universal genetic continuity, exceptionless generative evolution, Darwinism, or even Mivartism, is "poetic flourishes of the imagination." We wonder why Dr. Winchell, after referring here courteously to Mivart, is so silent in regard to his illustrious personal friend, Barrande. Are we mistaken in saying, on the sure authority of Barrande, that the denial of "special creations," or (to speak more correctly, and less in the cant phrase of the extreme Darwinians) new creative Originations, is unscientific? It was the great merit of Darwin to open before the eyes of the world the unexpectedly vast extent of genetic relations. It was the merit of Mivart to check his overstatements, and to show that theism and an Adamic inauguration were consistent with a universal transformism. But it was the final merit of Barrande to show that new creations do take place, thus limiting the universality of genetic evolution, and asserting the validity of so-called "special creations."

The following paragraph is an indication of Dr. Winchell's still firm belief in the "Pre-Adamic Man."

> *The antiquity of the human species is much greater than the antiquity of the Mediterranean race.* This follows from the superiority of the Mediterranean race over certain other races, and the consequently later date of its advent into existence. The origin of this race is comparatively not remote, but it has produced the materials of history at a rapid and ever-augmenting rate. When we shall have fixed the era of Menes or of Asshur we must add many thousand years to express the antiquity of Hottentots and Australians.—P. 11.

On this we may suggest that if we assume man's perfection to be the result of slow development, the most perfect race ought to be the oldest. We ought to assign the highest antiquity to the Mediterranean race, and ascribe the lowest cultivation of the Australian to his youthful existence. But if we as-

ame what the Darwinians style "special creation," but which we call Origination of new races under process of law, then the central human race may reasonably be considered to be the pyramidal elevation from which the marginal races are a degeneration. This we have fully argued in a former Quarterly. The Septuagint chronology would probably afford full time for this process.

Perhaps we do not understand the following paragraph:

The origin of life by abiogenesis is neither implied nor denied by the principle of evolution. I have said that evolution is a mode of continuance, not a mode of origin. The addition of life to matter previously lifeless is abiogenesis, but it is not continuance; it is a new beginning. That which has life is not an evolution of something without life. Life and death are as wide apart as affirmation and negation. It is often charged that evolution proposes to trace all organization back, not only to some primordial germ, but, as is flippantly stated, to dead matter. This is a gross misconception. Not only does no evolutionist claim this, but the assumption would be a rational absurdity. That life has been at some time added to dead matter is a dictate of reason; for the chain of percipient being must have a first link. That organic forms may frequently arise from germless and inanimate matter may be a fact; but it can never be an inference from the principle of evolution. Whenever it takes place we behold an act of creation.—Pp. 11, 12.

Now we do understand Mr. Darwin to say that one or more lifeless germs were first inspired with life by the breath of the Almighty. And this is the classic passage which his defenders quote to prove his theism. And it is this passage which we quoted in our last Quarterly to show that Mr. Darwin was committed to the doctrine of so-called "special creation." And from this, too, we show their denial and contempt of all said "special creation" to be inconsistent. If God has given life and living form to unliving matter once, then he can do it twice, thrice, and seven times. What right has Mr. Darwin to impose a universal negative after admitting one signal primal affirmative? And so the sudden apparition of new world-wide species revealed in the geologic record may be the creation of new species. And so Mediterranean man may be a fresh creation.

Dr. Winchell then opens a teleological argument, very original and effective in its logical march and conclusion. Draw-

ing a clear distinction between central *cause* and surrounding *conditions*, he prepares to show the great error of attributing the existing evolutionary process to mere environments. There are indeed environing activities, such as "capillarity, exosmose, imbibation, exhalation, solution, filtration, and chemism." But fatal and atheistic is the error of those who assign these mere conditions as sufficient, and drop out the efficient central cause. This central Cause, he proceeds to show, is a Personality. For want of a clear perception of these distinctions, the readers of Draper, Spencer, and Darwin are deeply liable to be involved in the darkest shades of Atheism. Thanks are due to Dr. Winchell for the clearness and boldness with which he develops them.

North American Review, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Crisis in Utah; by Gov. Eli H. Murray. 2. Why They Come; by Edward Self. 3. Anti-Vaccinism; by Dr. Henry Austin Martin. 4. The Civil Service Reform Controversy; by E. L. Godkin. 5. A National Militia; by Albert Ordway. 6. The Ruins of Central America. Part X; Désiré Charnay. 7. Bourbonism in Virginia; by Senator H. H. Riddleberger.

May.—1. Party Schisms and Future Problems; by Carl Schurz. 2. Days with Longfellow; by Samuel Ward. 3. What does Revelation Reveal? by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. 4. The Navy; by Lieut.-Commander Henry H. Gorringe. 5. Conversations with a Solitary; Part I; by W. H. Mallock. 6. The Spent Bullet; by Gail Hamilton.

June.—1. The Currency of the Future; by Senator B. W. Allison. 2. A Memorandum at a Venture; by Walt Whitman. 3. Andover and Creed-Subscription; by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bacon. 4. Mongolian Immigration; by Geo. F. Seward. 5. Old School Medicine and Homœopathy; by Prof. J. W. Dowling. 6. Swedenborg; by O. B. Frothingham. 7. Has Land a Value? by Isaac L. Rice. 8. An Unconstitutional Militia; by Charles E. Lydecker.

There are two articles in this number by very different authors and on very different subjects, yet bearing a singular analogy to each other; the one by Walt Whitman, in favor of obliterating the boundary lines of decency by the popular exhibition of nude figures; and the other by Rev. Dr. Leonard W. Bacon, in favor of obliterating the boundary lines of religious doctrine. Both are suggestive of a crisis of transition from the past toward what looks like an abysmal future. We are no alarmist, however, for we know there is an equilibrium in our nature which will in due time revolt from limitless license in practice and doctrine. But it is well to mark the steps by which the license proposes to advance.

The old theology, that is, the Bible, emphasized the divine distinction between man and brute; teaching that the latter

sprang by divine fiat from the mass of lower nature, and so is mortal and irresponsible; while the former was molded by the immediate divine hand, and quickened by the divine breath, so as to be immortal and responsible to his Maker. The Darwinian evolution teaches that man, originally also brute, was developed by natural undesign, with no fixed point of commencement for his immortality, and no indication of responsibility to any being, as having no intentional Maker. Of the diffusion of this theory, of course *animalization* is both the natural tendency and the logical result. Walt Whitman's article is logical from its premises. But it is none the less brutal. It is clothed in language of guarded delicacy, but the underlying purpose is pollution. For all the argument for nude figures is more valid for the nude living body than for the painting or statue. Says he: "It is not the picture, or nude statue, or text, with *clear aim*, that is indecent; it is the beholder's own thought." Very true, and what calls up the sensualizing thought but the nude figure, lifeless or living? When Alcibiades, naked, drove his chariot through the streets of Athens drawn by naked harlots, the pure looked on, not seduced but disgusted. Alcibiades had, forsooth, a "high, clear aim;" he was a man of great personal beauty, brilliant talent, and high æstheticism. Male and female beauty, as his chariot passed, flared splendidly on the eyes of sensual Athens, and debauched and bestialized the general mind. Pagan dogmas are now at this day struggling to bring in a similar pagan demoralization. Satanic sensuality is seeking to undo the work of Christianity, and bring back the demoralization of the Satanic Ages.

Contemporaneous with this inclined plane adown the path of morals is the singular down-sliding scale of Christian doctrine, especially in the Congregational ranks, as very specially signalized in the instance of Andover. The founders of that Seminary prescribed subscription to a certain creed, and an oath of the professors to be taken every five years, to teach nothing contrary to that creed. And now it is somehow supposed that a disregard of those fundamental prescriptions is justified by reasoning like this: Mr. Abbott and the other founders "debarred Unitarians from the enjoyment of their bounty; but did not foresee the day when the reverence of Unitarians

would be shocked by the audacious utterances of Theodore Parker, and the not much later day when some of these utterances would be freely entertained in circles indubitably orthodox;" and, he might have added, pantheism and atheism underlying Emersonism and Parkerism. Now, first, we do suppose that the very reason why the founders made such prescription was that they feared some such very defection. And Dr. Bacon's argument is that such defection is to be calculated on as a reason why no provision should be made against it. We are to hold our present beliefs not as eternal truth, but as a phase of human mutability. Our house is not built upon a rock, but upon the sand, or rather upon the heaving waves. If such is the assumption in the pulpit, what is the thought in the pews? Is it not a thin layer of belief over an ocean of skepticism? But the question is not, Were such prescriptions by the founders wise? The real question is, whether the professor who so signs and swears and violates must not be guilty of perjury. It is whether, when he teaches contrary to that creed, as certainly understood and prescribed by the founders, he could not be legally ousted by *quo warranto*. If these questions, the first especially, are to be answered affirmatively, the trustees had perhaps better sell the seminary under the hammer, and build a new seminary where every professor could teach what his own or the contemporary opinions dictated. As for the self-conceited Methodists, they believe themselves to hold the "everlasting Gospel," and are making no provision for a future plunge into pantheism or atheism. Let the generation that makes that plunge take care for itself.

PRINCETON REVIEW, May, 1882. (New York.)—1. American Agriculture: by Francis A. Walker. 2. Right and Wrong in Politics; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D. 3. Orthodox Rationalism; by Newman Smyth, D.D. 4. The Painter's Art; John F. Weir, N.A. 5. Church Economics; by Rev. Dr. John Hall. 6. The Collapse of Faith; by President Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D.

Newman Smyth's Article on Orthodox Rationalism is to our mind an impeachment of the judgment of the Andover professors and trustees in supposing him a fit teacher of Theology. It is essentially a rejection of all definite statement of Christian doctrine and the conceited substitution of cloudy wordiness. Away with the doctrine that tells us "a God proved by us would be a God made by us;" "the necessary idea of

God is the compulsion of our thought of the perfect Being." From such hands coming forth, the future preachers would turn out lofty vaporers. We repeat our opinion of his resemblance to Maurice, whose magnificent haziness always was promising something and performing nothing. We would rather go back to the despised old eighteenth century, and fasten us down, with Paley, Locke, and Blair, to solid "common sense," than float aloft in a theological balloon to the skies with these high pneumatic performers.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Jehovistic and Elohistic Theories; by Rev. John Urquhart. 2. The Place and Use of Doctrine; by Rev. Robert Sanders. 3. Conscience and the Blood of Sprinkling. 4. Chalmers and Schleiermacher; by Rev. Daniel Edward. 5. Professor Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch; by Rev. Prof. W. Henry Green. 6. The Sacrificial Aspect of Christ's Death; by Rev. H. B. Elliot.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Richard Cobden. 2. Curiosities of Bible Manuscripts. 3. Methodism and the Working Classes. 4. M. Renan's Last Volume. 5. Thirwall's Letters. 6. The Works of G. F. Watts, R.A. 7. Scientific Superstition.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. New Testament Revision—Westcott and Hort's Textual Theory. 2. Jonathan Swift. 3. English Poets and Oxford Critics. 4. Life and Letters of De Busbecq. 5. Mr. Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century. 6. Journals of Caroline Fox. 7. The Manchester School—Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. 8. What shall be done with Ireland?

Westminster Review, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. Epicurus and Lucretius. 2. Ants. 3. The Fair Trade Movement. 4. Fires in Theaters. 5. Ecclesiastical Migrations. 6. The Napoleonidæ. 7. The Ordnance Survey.

From the interesting article on the "Napoleonidæ," the Bonaparte family, we give the following passage in regard to the son of Josephine, Eugéne Beauharnais:

Eugéne, a man of great talent and of high character, was during his whole life a loyal adherent of the great emperor. Napoleon formed various plans of marriage for him, which were not carried out. In 1806, however, Eugéne was married to Augusta, daughter of the King of Bavaria. This princess was then engaged to the Hereditary Prince of Baden; but Napoleon compensated the latter by bestowing on him the hand of Stéphanie Beauharnais, a remote cousin of Eugéne. A letter written by Napoleon to his stepson, shortly after the marriage of the latter, is a further illustration of the minuteness of his despotism: "You must make your house gay; this is necessary for the happiness of your wife and for your own health. I lead the same

sort of existence as you do, but then I have an old wife who can amuse herself; I have also more work to do; and yet, to tell the truth, I am fonder of dissipation than you are. . . . You used to rise early; you should resume that custom. It will not disturb the arrangements of the princess if you go to bed at eleven o'clock."

Eugéne served Napoleon loyally until the fall of Paris in 1814. He then retired to Bavaria, where he was made Duke of Leuchtenberg. He visited Paris on the death of Josephine, and received offers of rank from Louis XVIII. These he declined; and he also held aloof during the Hundred Days. He used all his influence, however, on behalf of the emperor after his fall. His marriage was very happy, and at his early death in 1824 he left six children whose careers were extraordinary. His eldest son married a daughter of the Czar Nicholas, and founded the Leuchtenberg branch of the Russian Imperial family. Of the five remaining, three married respectively the sovereigns of Sweden, Portugal, and Brazil. *The unhappy Josephine is, therefore, more amply represented to-day in the world's high places than all the Bonapartes together.*—P. 235.

The sarcastic article on "Ecclesiastical Migrations" reminds us of the transmigrations through which the Westminster itself has passed. We once read it as the sturdy maintainer of the existence of God; but it now knows no God, no soul, no immortal existence for man. Whether in this "lowest deep" it can find a "lower deep" the future, not we, can determine. It is a luminary of twilight shedding darkness and hopelessness on all within its sad circumference.

We give some of its entertaining notices of Bishop Thirlwall:

Connop Thirlwall was the son of a clergyman, who was chaplain to Bishop Percy, editor of the "Reliques of Ancient British Poetry," but now perhaps better known by Boswell's record of his dispute with Johnson, in which the old philosopher, puffing hard with passion struggling for a vent, burst out, "Hold, sir, don't talk of rudeness . . . we have done with civility, we are to be as rude as we please."

In mental precocity young Thirlwall resembled his after-acquaintance, John Stuart Mill. At a very early period he read English so well that he was taught Latin at three years of age, and at four read Greek with an ease and fluency which astonished all who heard him. His talent for composition showed itself as early as Macaulay's, his junior in age by three years, afterward, like him, a fellow of Trinity. . . .

He was educated at Charterhouse, in one of those golden times which at successive intervals crown the harvest to schools and colleges as well as to the natural world. Among his school-

fellows was George Grote, who in after life was his fellow-laborer in the field of Greek history, and whose work, later in point of publication than the Bishop's, has in his own and in general estimation superseded it. The two friends now share the same grave in our great Abbey. At Trinity he happened on another "golden time." We have many letters written during his undergraduate period; they are decidedly priggish in their tone; they also contain illustrations of some of the mental characteristics which continued with him through life. Thus in a letter on Cicero, written in his twentieth year, he expresses the opinion that "the Christian religion had introduced with it no innovations at all in ethics, that it had laid down no principle of morality which had not been acknowledged and inculcated by either all or the best of the heathen writers long before; this opinion was founded on an unbiased view he had taken of the ancient philosophy, as he met with an exposition of it in the works of Cicero." In fact, throughout his life his religion was more of the school of Cicero than of the school of Christ. In the same letter we find the future editor of Schleiermacher avowing "that if the external evidence for the miracle [of the conversion of Constantine] were tenfold stronger than it is, he should upon mature reflection decidedly reject it." . . .

He determined "to rush into the pursuit of the law with a desperate activity, propelled by the single forlorn chance of amassing a competent fortune in time sufficient to free himself from the trammels of business, before his views and tastes and sentiments had undergone a total change." He, therefore, entered at Lincoln's Inn in February, 1850, [*sic*] but his aversion to the law was never concealed; and once conversing with a college friend on the subject of successful lawyers, after setting forth the drudgery and thankless efforts of a rising junior, and the utter want of leisure of his successful seniors, he added, "I think it was Sir Matthew Hale who observed that a successful lawyer commonly died in his bed surrounded by his family, which I suppose is intended as some compensation for the little happiness he has enjoyed in this life, and his very doubtful chance of happiness in that to come." He was called to the bar in 1825, and joined the Home Circuit. In the same year he published his translation of Schleiermacher's Essay on St. Luke, with his own celebrated introduction. The publication of this book not only showed that his mind retained its early theological bent shown by the "Primitiæ," but it was an epoch in the history of English theology. "Many there are," said Dean Stanley, "who in his masterly analysis of the composition of the Gospel narrative first gained an insight at once alike into the complicated structure and the profound substance of the sacred volume." The law is a jealous mistress, and with Thirlwall's aversion to its practice, and his utter want of ambition for its honors, his success at the bar was not to be looked for, and two years after his call he left the legal profession forever. We assent to an

anonymous remark quoted by the editors of the "Letters," "that equity lost in him an incomparable judge." With his power of "serene ratiocination," he would have equaled, perhaps surpassed, Eldon, or even a greater judge, Cottenham. "But," adds the same authority, "he carried the temper, and perhaps the habit, of equity into all his subsequent work." His legal studies certainly left a mark on him which was never effaced. His sermon, "The Resurrection not Incredible," is purely a forensic argument. "There is again [to quote Dean Stanley] an old English word which has now somewhat lost its meaning, but which in former times was applied to one of our greatest divines, Richard Hooker—the word 'Judicious.' We now use it in the restricted sense of 'cautious' or 'sagacious.' But in its proper meaning it signified that quality of judgment, discretion, discrimination, which is the chief characteristic of the Biblical virtue of wisdom. Hardly perhaps has there been any English theologian, rarely even any professional judge, to whom this epithet, in this its true sense of *judicial, judge-like*, was more truly applicable than to his serene and powerful intellect. In that massive countenance, in that measured diction, in that deliberate argument, in those weighty decisions, it seemed as though Themis herself were enshrined to utter her most impressive oracles, as if he was a living monument, on which was inscribed: '*Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas*,' as if he had absorbed into his inmost being the evangelical precept, Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment."

Such being the character of his mind, as was to be expected his addresses to his clergy assumed "entirely the form of judicial utterances on each of the great controversies which have agitated the Church of England for the last thirty years, and thus became the most faithful as well as impressive record of that eventful time." "There would be some chance for the Church," said Macaulay, "if we had more churchmen of the same breed, worthy successors of Leighton and Tillotson.

On leaving the bar, Thirlwall went into residence at Trinity, and there resumed, if indeed it be right to say he had ever laid aside, that task of acquiring fresh knowledge which he began even before he reached his eleventh year, and continued with indomitable energy even to the very last, in old age, in blindness and solitude; ever adding another and yet another finish to the never-ending education of his capacious mind, and justifying the title bestowed on him by Dean Stanley of "a universal scholar." "There was hardly a civilized language which he had not explored, both in its structure and its literature." In the last days of his life, *after blindness had closed his eyes*, he translated (through successive dictations) into Latin, Greek, German, Italian, Spanish, French, Welsh, the Apologue, pagan, it is noteworthy, rather than Christian in expression, if not also in sentiment: "That as sleep is the brother of death, thou must be careful to commit thyself to the care of Him who is to awaken

thee both from the death of sleep and from the sleep of death, and which tells us further that the outward occurrences of life, whether prosperous or adverse, have no more effect than dreams on our real condition, since virtue alone is the real end and enduring good."

It is to be regretted, as Dean Stanley admits, that with such a good right to the title claimed for him of "universal scholar," his prodigious acquisition of knowledge was not accompanied by a corresponding productiveness.

The calm of his second residence at Cambridge was broken by the outbreak of the controversy as to the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, and the publication of Thirlwall's memorable pamphlet in its favor. Indeed, to religious liberty he was, as a rule, always friendly, as was shown by his facing "The Mob of Bishops" in the House of Lords; and not only voting, but speaking in favor of the removal of Jewish Disabilities.

In this pamphlet the subject of compulsory attendance at the College Chapel services was treated "in a serious, deliberate, and decided manner," with a view of showing it had a detrimental effect on the students. In consequence of the liberal tone of the pamphlet, and what Macaulay called "the unutterable baseness and dirtiness" of the college authorities, Thirlwall had to give up the assistant tutorship which, up to that time, he had held under Whewell. As a well-deserved compensation, Lord Brougham, in the last days of his chancellorship, offered him the living of Kirby Underdale, in Yorkshire. Thirlwall accepted the offer, and terminated his connection with Cambridge. "Thirlwall's parochial work," wrote J. C. Hare to Whewell, "is perfect." In July, 1840, Lord Melbourne, a great theological student, who had read Thirlwall's translation of Schleiermacher and the Introduction—offered him the vacant See of St. David's. Melbourne avowed that he did not like heterodox bishops; they might, he said, be very good men, but he thought they had not any business on the bench. Suspicious of Thirlwall's orthodoxy, he had previously sent the book to the Primate (Archbishop Howly) and asked him for his candid opinion on it. That eminently cautious person replied that he did not concur in all Thirlwall's opinions, but saw nothing heterodox in the book. Thirlwall, accordingly, *non obstante Schleiermacher*, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's; and his episcopate of four-and-thirty years showed that Melbourne had put the right man in the right place.

His long episcopate was passed in as much quietness, indeed, in as much seclusion, as his public position allowed. *Deafness, to a great extent, rendered general society irksome to him.* A single man, and always much alone, to him well applied Bishop Copleston's description of Newman, "*Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.*" In the absence of human society he delighted in that companionship of members of what he called "the much-maligned and often-persecuted race of cats, whose moral qualities he rated highly; and in observations of the habits of his geese,

the most singular choice of pets which we happen to remember." His happiest hours were those spent in Chaos—as he appropriately called the library at Abergwili Palace. During the last ten years of his episcopate he wrote to a young lady, a member of a Welsh family in which the Bishop took a great interest, the letters now published under the title, "Letters to a Friend." "It was felt," says Dean Stanley in his preface, "that they supply a side of the bishop's character which was not sufficiently appreciated in his life-time," and which is not shown in the correspondence with his contemporaries now published in the companion volume, "Letters of Bishop Thirlwall." Each of these volumes, but more especially the "Letters to a Friend," abound in valuable matter. His remarks on literary men and their works, particularly on novels, are highly interesting; his letters on religious subjects show how he had succeeded in fulfilling Dr. Johnson's injunction, "Clear your mind of cant." We have space left only for a few brief extracts. As specimens of his judgments on contemporaries, we give his estimate of Grote: "His intellectual greatness was brought out in higher relief to those who knew the man by the simplicity and amiableness of his character." Of another early friend, John Stuart Mill, he says: "I always considered him as a noble spirit who had the misfortune of having been educated by a narrow-minded pedant who cultivated his intellectual faculties at the expense of all the rest, yet did not succeed in stifling them." Of another friend, who could fairly claim with himself the title of universal scholar, he remarks: "It was Sir George Lewis who made that philosophical remark about life and its pleasures. It was the simple expression of his own lifelong experience. Very few other men could have said the same thing sincerely. To him the business of life was all that there was attractive in it. But I am not sure whether he was incapable of enjoying light reading. If so, I admire rather than envy him."

Of Pius IX. he wrote: "It was only through family interest that he passed his examination for Holy Orders. If he had not been a Mastai, the future infallible doctor would have been plucked. And he has never had need to study theology since he became Pope, for he has lived in the constant belief that he enjoys a special inspiration of the Virgin Mary, which more than supplies the place of study."

Discussing with his friend the question "whether it was not the fact that to the philosophers death was only a law, while to the Fathers it was not only a law but a punishment," he says: "You ask, 'Why should death—except the manner of it—be considered a punishment at all, when it leads us to better things'—to a somewhere without pain or perplexity or sin? How does it follow that death is not a punishment because it leads to better things? Suppose a man desires to reach some pleasant field lying on the other side of a field which is crossed by a good bridge. If he is prevented from going over the bridge and

forced to take the water, may not that be considered as a punishment? If an invalid, subject to sea-sickness, is compelled to take a voyage to Madeira because he is debarred from the use of medicine or a change of air which would have effected his cure at home, is not that in the nature of a punishment? Is it sufficient consolation to a mother of a young emigrant, under the anguish of parting, to believe that he is going to make his fortune at the antipodes; and would she not equally consider it as a punishment if he was debarred from an equally profitable employment in his own country? Is human life in general such a scene of unmitigated misery that every one should be anxious to hurry out of it with the certainty of being a gainer by the change of state? And are the ties which bind us to earthly relatives and friends so slight that they may be severed without any touch of pain? Surely these are monstrous paradoxes against which the common sense of mankind revolts. . . ."

On the cognate question of a future state, and referring to the well-known American book on that subject, "The Gates Ajar," he says: "I was exceedingly entertained with it, partly as a delightful picture of American life, and still more by its view of the future state. With regard to this, however, I can only speak relatively. How near it approaches to the truth I should not venture to say; but I am quite sure that it comes infinitely nearer to it than that which is represented by Deacon Quirle, and that it would be an immense gain if it superseded that of congregations which ne'er break up, and Sabbaths which have no end."

From one of the last "Letters to a Friend," we take this characteristic reference to the "steadily progressing failure of his eyesight:" "I learn to appreciate the good-will of St. Paul's Galatians, though suspecting they were not sorry to be unable to make the sacrifice." The reference in the letter is to Gal. iv, 15: "*I bear you record that if it had been possible*, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and given them to me." —Pp. 220–224.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Mohammedanism and the Ottoman Turks. 2. The Influence of the Italian Renaissance on the Elizabethan Stage. 3. Lucretius, Tyndall, Picton, Martineau: Some Theories of Matter and its Relation to Life. 4. Astronomical Explanations of the Force of Inertia. 5. Of the Imitation of Christ. 6. The Sculptures of Pergamon in the Berlin Museums. 7. The Union with England of Scotland and Ireland. 8. Democracy in France in 1882. 9. The Imperial Elections in Germany.

So much has been said of the noble character of the Turks by Bosworth Smith, and others, that it may be well to notice, from the first article, the following description of the *sensuality, physical decline, and final destiny of that race in Europe.*

It must be confessed that the Turks are a sensual people, and that their sensuality takes the form, mainly, of licentiousness.

We do not refer to the practice of polygamy, for we are convinced that polygamy is much less common among them than is generally supposed. We refer to the degrading illicit intercourse which has generally been described as a crime against nature. We believe, moreover, that this sensual character of the Turks is derived from and nurtured to a very large extent by their religion. The personal character of Mohammed entered largely into the system which he founded; the weakest point of his character is the weakest point of his system. He was a sensualist, and his religion is a sensual religion. That this charge is well founded is shown by the almost convulsive efforts of his modern defenders to blunt its edge, and to apologize for their hero on account of personal peculiarities of temperament, or to throw upon surrounding circumstances the main responsibility of his confessed departure from the law of virtue and purity. . . .

No one of the Mohammedan races has carried out the license given to sensual passion by the Koran and the adhering tradition to such an extent as have the Ottoman Turks, and no race has suffered so much from that license. The evil consequences are far-reaching and baleful in the extreme. It is to feed Turkish sensuality that the slave-trade throughout the empire and in the interior of Africa is maintained. The beautiful, fair daughters who are purchased from the Georgians and Circassians also find their way at last to the harems of Constantinople, Brusa, Smyrna, Adrianople, Aleppo, Bagdad, and other towns and cities of Asia Minor. One of the direct results of this sensuality is that the Turks have degenerated physically during the past two hundred years. That the conquerors of Constantinople were a hardy race of great physical strength there can be no doubt; that the great majority of modern Turks are of an effeminate type is equally certain; very many of them are persons of fine appearance, but they are physically weak, without elasticity, giving the impression of men who have lost their vitality. The same may be said even more emphatically of Turkish women: they are small in stature, of a sickly complexion, easily fatigued by slight exertion, and become prematurely old. After the age of forty all feminine beauty is gone; the eyes have become sunken, the cheeks hollow, the face wrinkled; and there remains no trace of the activity and physical strength often seen in English women of sixty-five, or even of seventy, years of age. Another immediate result of the prevailing sensuality is the mental imbecility of multitudes of the Ottoman Turks; great numbers among them are intellectually stupid. Many, even of the young men, have the vacant look which borders close on the idiotic state. Severe mental application is for them almost a physical impossibility. It is well known that in all branches of business where considerable mental activity is required, the Turks employ Christians to work for them. This is owing, not so much to a lack of education, or to a general want of energy, as in many cases to a mental incapacity which often amounts to real imbecil-

ity. Obvious illustration of the special topic now discussed is furnished by the royal family itself. Sultan Abdul Mejid, Sultan Abdul Aziz, and the deposed Sultan Murad, were all men of depraved minds, vicious habits, intemperate and sensual in the extreme, and were alike devoid of moral character and mental capacity. Mental incapacity, however, from the causes alleged is not confined by any means to the wealthy and aristocratic classes; it is found in all grades of society.

Another resultant evil, generated by Mohammedanism among the Turkish race, is the degradation of women. Arabs, Kurds, Turcomans, and Circassians, all treat their women with more respect than do the Turks. It is not easy to draw a true picture of the condition and character of the wives and daughters of the Ottoman Moslems; even the outlines of such a picture would offend the taste of western readers. We can only, therefore, in general terms, say that Turkish women live and die in a state of moral and social degradation. The earnest efforts that are made to seclude the female sex from the observation of males, so far from promoting virtue among them, has a positive tendency in the opposite direction. The "harem," so sacredly secluded from the world, is the nursery of impure desires, the home of vile gossip; its atmosphere is tainted with pollution. The Turkish women, excluded as they are from the society of men, learn to think of all intercourse with the opposite sex as low and degrading, and this conviction or sentiment works like a moral poison at the very source of family and social life. In this impure moral atmosphere Turkish children are born and reared; the vile language which is heard from their lips as soon as they are old enough to appear in the streets is the language which they have learned from their mothers and sisters, and from the female servants of the harem. We question whether the children of the most degraded heathen tribes use language more thoroughly polluted than that commonly used by the Turkish children in their early years. An able French writer has recently said: "Nothing would contribute more to the regeneration and well-being of the inhabitants of Turkey and Egypt than the abolition of the harem system. Probably there are few who have paid attention to the effect of slavery in Eastern countries who do not see that its existence has much to do in producing the lethargy and sensuality so destructive of all the best intents of the people. It forms a sort of inclosure within which the Mussulman lives a peculiar life; an outwork behind which he finds a refuge from the influence of civilization and Christianity. Destroy this, and his existence will undergo a change, and he will become a different person altogether."

Joseph Cooper, the earnest and able advocate of the abolition of the African slave-trade, in a recent pamphlet on "Turkey and Egypt," well says: "It is to supply these countries that multitudes of Africans are still driven under a burning sun, and undergo the torture of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, over a large

portion of Northern or Central Africa, where the paths of the desert are to be traced by the bleached bones of human skeletons. . . . The principal demand for slaves is for the harems: to supply these, twenty, forty, and sometimes sixty, pounds sterling are paid for a slave, a price that would insure a supply in spite of the most stringent laws honestly enforced."

In a small volume, issued in 1875, on "Slavery and the Slave-Trade in Africa," the same writer has shown most conclusively that the internal slave-trade of Africa is maintained, to a large extent, in order to supply the demand for slaves in Turkey and Egypt.

Another sad result of the evils we have been describing is a marked decrease in the Turkish population. Reliable statistics are unknown in Turkey; in fact, there are no statistics at all in regard to births and deaths. Almost all travelers in the country are struck with the decline of the Turkish population. This decline is indicated by the small number of children seen in the Turkish towns and villages as compared with the comparatively large number of children seen in Christian towns and villages. It is also indicated by the deserted and ruined condition of the Turkish quarters in many cities as compared with the overflowing population of the Christian quarters. The heavy draft made on the Turkish population to supply the armies accounts, to some extent, for this decline, but this is not the only nor the chief cause; the decline is, in the main, owing to the moral causes we have indicated. . . .

What, then, may we anticipate as the future of the Turkish people? In the *first* place, as an inference from the history of the past, we conclude that there is no probability of the Turks amalgamating with any of the Christian races. During the four hundred years of Turkish rule in Asia Minor there has been no approach to such an amalgamation; they never intermarry with the Christians; the races are as distinct to-day as when the first wild emigrants from beyond the Caspian pitched their tents on the banks of the Sakarius, in the plains of Bithynia. *Nor is there any hope* that the Turks will reform themselves on the basis of their own religious system. Writers like Mr. J. Bosworth Smith seem to indulge in a dream of this sort. Such an opinion would be worthy of consideration if it could be supported by facts. We think, on the contrary, that the teachings of history prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the religious system of Mohammed is the prime source of the political decrepitude, as of the moral and social evils, that so darken the entire horizon of the Ottoman Turks.

As we have tried to point out the sore spots in the life and character of this people, even at the risk of offending the good taste of our readers, we do not hesitate to intimate that the remedies to be applied should be in the direction of removing the causes of the direful disease. We have but little hope of the self-reformation of the Turkish race; if there is any hope at

all, it comes from the possibility of giving to them the elements of Christian education. Hitherto they have shown but little disposition to avail themselves of the educational advantages placed within their reach. The schools that have been established by foreigners, with a view to the civilization and reformation of the country, have been attended almost exclusively by Christian youths. Notwithstanding all that has been said by Colonel Baker and others in regard to the recent improvements in the school system of Turkey, the fact still remains that the masses of the Turks, old and young, are in a state of deplorable ignorance. The boasted improvements are in schemes proposed, not in plans carried out. The Turkish mind seems incapable of receiving any stimulus in the direction of intellectual activity. We search in vain for evidence of inventive genius, for machines made by native Turks, for factories, for works of art, for improvements in the most common methods of commerce and agriculture, for schools in which the most simple principles of modern science are taught. We are sorry it is true, but, being true, we think the fact should be known and acknowledged, that the Turks seem entirely content with their ignorance. A few who have enjoyed opportunities of study in Europe have shown considerable intellectual capacity, especially as linguists, and occasionally, in individual instances, some progress has been made in the study of natural sciences, but such examples only make more striking the prevailing ignorance and inaptitude. The results of recent investigations, and the modern methods of study, are as much unknown to the great majority of Turks as they are to the North American Indians. . . .

What prospect is there that the Turks will accept Christianity? We think, humanly speaking, the prospect is exceedingly slight. In saying this we do not question the divine authority and power of the Christian religion. We admit that nations more wild, savage, and vicious than the Turks have accepted that religion, and have been influenced by it in the most wonderful manner. We only speak of the probabilities of the case as drawn from a careful study of the history and character of the Turks themselves. Intellectually, the main obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity is the doctrine of the Sonship of Christ; practically, the main obstacle is the fact that the Gospel requires the entire, unreserved, and unconditional abandonment of the sensuality which has become to the Turk almost a second nature. The Turks often declare that "the Gospel is an iron *lebleb* (roasted pea) which we cannot eat." Dr. Hamlin gives a list of some forty or fifty persons in all who have been baptized from among this people by the American and English missionaries. We are sorry he does not give the history of these converts from Mohammedanism subsequent to this baptism. The number is small, but all would be glad to know how many of even this small number have remained true to their new faith, and have lived in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel.

Dr. Hamlin is of the opinion that the number of Turkish converts would have been much larger had there been more extended and more direct efforts made in the way of evangelization. This is possible, yet there can be little doubt that the widespread and publicly recognized efforts of the Bible and Missionary Societies in Turkey must have reached, to a considerable extent, nearly all classes of the population. Tens of thousands of Turks must have had opportunity to learn what are the fundamental principles of evangelical Christianity, either through the printed page or from the lips of the earnest and simple converts, who have been gathered in such large numbers into self-supporting and independent Churches throughout the country. We fear that the real difficulty is deeper than a want of knowledge, although it cannot be claimed that the Gospel has been preached widely among, and directly to, the Ottomans. They seem to be in a state of moral and spiritual collapse, in which all appeals calculated to arouse them to a higher life fall upon ears that are stone deaf.

In reviewing the whole case as it now lies before us—putting possibilities aside—we confess that the most probable result in regard to the Turks is that *they will become extinct as a race.* The causes operating in this direction are powerful and easily understood. The most potent cause is the one which we have already pointed out—the inherent corruption of the people themselves. Another powerful cause, operating in the same direction, is the external pressure from the advancing Christian races of the empire. Ignorant, superstitious, and degraded as the bulk of the Christians are, there is yet in them a basis for improvement. They have physical strength and dormant capabilities of moral growth; they are not radically corrupt, and they have the desire to improve their condition. No one familiar with Turkey for the past twenty-five years can have failed to notice what rapid progress has been made by the Christian races, while the Moslems, especially the Turkish Moslems, have either remained stationary or have rapidly retrograded. The testimony of the American Missionary, Rev. Dr. Hamlin, on this point is worthy of special notice: "The Rayahs (he says, 'Among the Turks,' p. 376) are working up to a knowledge of their power and their rights. The Porte can no longer carry on the government without their aid, and they are pressing in on every side. Their progress in education, their knowledge of foreign languages and foreign countries, the superior activity and energy of the Christians, are all in their favor, and twenty years more of accelerated progress like that of the past ten years, under the worst sovereign Turkey ever had, will change all these tens into hundreds of thousands. . . . The Christian element of the empire is steadily gaining power and influence, and even if bloody revolutions do not hasten the day of freedom, it is sure to come by moral forces."

But whatever the future may be, we cannot doubt that the fertile lands now under Turkish sway will be recovered to

civilization and freedom, and be made the home of human happiness. The Turk cannot stop, though for a time he may hinder, the onward march of modern progress; he may be regenerated and restored, or he may be left behind and overwhelmed; but we are very sure that, unless he at once begins to keep step with the nations of the world, he cannot remain the master of those fair regions over which he has so long dominated, but which he has neither governed nor improved.—Pp. 283–294.

Indian Evangelical Review, April, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Hindu Eclecticism; by Ram Chunder Bose. 2. History of Travancore; by the Rev. S. Mateer. 3. Psychology and Preaching. 4. An Excommunicated Nun; by Mrs. Robert Clark. 5. Missionary Letters. I. Japan. By Rev. T. S. Wynkoop. 6. An Oriental Interpretation of the Bible, a Factor in Christian Progress in India; by Rev. J. P. Jones. 7. Patna, Gaya, and Benares—Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity; by the Editor.

German Reviews.

Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger. Vol. V., No. 3. *Essays:* 1. Reuter, Augustinian Studies, IV. 2. Bartels, Contributions to Pietism in East Friesland and the Neighboring Provinces; Second Paper. *Critical Review:* Labors in Biblical Archæology in the Years 1879 and 1880; by Victor Schultze. *Analecta:* 1. Erbes, History of the SS. Quatuor Coronati. 2. Haupt. A Begharden Trial in Eichstädt in the Year 1381. 3. *Miscellanies:* by Kawerau, Nestle, Hoffmann, and Köhricht.

The most acceptable article in this number of the Journal is that by Victor Schultze on the Biblical Archæological Labors of the years 1879 and 1880, that is, of the present epoch. The various works that he quotes and criticises show a remarkable activity among modern scholars in this sphere of biblical investigation. And for convenient reference for experts in this line of study, we think it well to quote them: Kraus treats of the conception, extent, and history of Christian archæology, and the significance of these monumental studies for historical theology; Shultze, of the importance of the ancient Christian monuments for theological investigation, and also of the symbolics of the ancient Christians; Le Blant, a French author, gives a treatise on symbolism in the representations of the early Christians, and also the Christian sarcophagi of Arles; Kraus again appears in the "Encyclopædia of Christian Antiquities," on the same subject; Cassell writes

about the "Phœnix and its Era," a contribution to the study of art, symbolics, and chronology; and Shultze again appears in a monogram entitled, "*De Christianorum veterum ritus sepulcralibus.*" Armellini, an Italian author, treats of the Roman Catacombs, as does Merz, a German, in the "Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology."

Such an array of workers in this same line of investigation, within two years, proves the extent to which this study is gaining ground among modern theologians. In peculiar contrast to this zealous study of Christian archæology in the present period is the fact that even yet it is not easy to draw the boundary line within which the investigation shall be confined. Italian and French archæologists are inclined to fix the limits at the death of Gregory the Great, but Piper, the most distinguished German authority, would bring it down to the present era. However much Piper may be in advance, the former certainly place the barriers at too early a date. The symbolics and iconography of the Middle Ages, as well as that of the first three centuries of the Christian era, certainly fall within the limits of Christian antiquities. On the other hand, it seems quite inadmissible to confine the period to the years from the Reformation to the present, for such a procedure would exclude the important epochs above mentioned. There is also a state of indecision regarding the most appropriate name for the science; shall it be called "Christian" Archæology or "Monumental"? The former would indicate both monumental and literary sources, while the latter would seem to confine it solely to ancient monuments. But more important than these questions is that as to the results which this study promises to bring to theological science; and this will depend largely on the sphere to which it shall confine itself. This is mostly decided to be the external history of Church life as delineated on the ancient monuments of Christian communities or organizations, and thus the term "Monumental Theology" is gaining ground as the most fitting one to indicate the science. The reviewer of these various works finds much in them to criticise, and complains especially of the tendency to imaginative theories, such, for instance, as that the Phœnix was not an ancient Christian symbol of the resurrection, but rather of Christ, and that there was an identity in these symbols

between the peacock and the phœnix. The author also finds little to praise in the work of Armellini on the Catacombs of Rome, though a Roman might well be expected to be an authority on this subject. Armellini seems to have compiled his own work more from the pages of Rossi than from his own personal explorations. The article on the Catacombs in the new "New Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology" also comes in for a share of censure, as it is declared to be unworthy of the present status of information regarding these asylums for the Christian dead. We learn, therefore, from all this, that the science of monumental theology is zealously cultivated, and is destined to grow apace, so that it will not be long before the theologians and the schools must give it a place in the repertory of their studies.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882. Third Number. *Essays:* 1. ZIMMER, Hebrews ii, 1–5. 2. HESS, Historical Investigations Concerning the Order of the Principal Sabbath Service in the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha. *Thoughts and Remarks:* RÖSCH, *Caput Asininum*. *Reviews:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Luther's Life. 2. SCHÖBERLIN, Principle and System of Dogmatics, reviewed by Häring. 3. SHULTZE, The Doctrine of the Godhead of Christ; *Communicatio idiomatum*, reviewed by Schmidt.

The Caput Asininum, or the Asinine Head, is a curious historical study concerning the worship of the ass among the Jews, and even among the early Christians, according to the assertions of their foes. Rösch terms it a peculiar historico-religious enigma, handed down to us by the polemics of Rome and Alexandria, forgotten then for a long period, and then revived in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the attention and study of such men as Bochart, Jablonski, and Michaelis; and in later years by Movers, Daumer, and Pleyte. Müller, in his critical study of Tacitus on the Jews, has paid the most attention to this peculiar subject, and exhumes a good deal that had been well-nigh forgotten. The oldest charge made against the Jews of the worship of the ass comes from Apion. This Egyptian author, in his work on the Jews, seems to have treated the subject as a scholar in quest of truth, and to have had rare advantages to understand the matter because of his position between the Orient and the Occident, and his knowledge of Rome under the three emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. From the writings of Posidonius and Apollonius he learned that the Jews in their temple

at Jerusalem had set up the head of an ass and made it the object of idolatrous adoration, a fact first made known by Antiochus Epiphanes when he plundered the temple, as he then found an asinine head of solid gold which he regarded as rich booty. A certain Damocritus also reports the worship of the asinine head by the Jews, though some believe this knowledge to have been gained through Apion, as above. Tacitus and his Grecian contemporary, Plutarch, relate that the Jews in their wanderings in the wilderness had learned to respect and venerate the ass, because it had guided them in their journeys and saved them from suffering and exhaustion, and had thus set it up in their temple as an object worthy of adoration. The accusation against the Christians of indulging also in this worship passed naturally to them as being but a sect of the Jews, and was cultivated by contemporary enemies, according to Tertullian, who regarded them as a "*genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*." The entire essay is learned and exhaustive, and again teaches us how great a fire a little spark may kindle.

An article of more practical and general interest is the life of Luther, by Köstlin, one of the editors of this Review. It is a *critique* of his own extensive work on Luther, in two volumes, recently published. One would suppose that even Martin Luther was long since exhausted by German scholars, but Köstlin claims to have written this for the laity as well as the clergy, and to have tried at least to make it the most perfect biography of Luther extant. In this claim he is supported by a recent critic in a Swiss review, who frankly declares that it treats every point, even the smallest ones, in the checkered life of the great Reformer. As we glance over this essay we perceive that the author pays a valuable tribute to Luther's entire experience in connection with the journey to Worms, and throws new light on some of the incidents of that famous event. He confirms the truth of the assertion of the sublime hero in his famous words: "I can do no otherwise; here I stand, so help me God!" which exclamation has been questioned. Köstlin finds it on a fly-leaf in an old work of the library of Heidelberg, which shows at least that it was contemporary with Luther, and not manufactured afterward for effect. He also finds the same expression in an old edi-

tion of Luther's entire works in Latin, published in 1546. The document of the proceedings at Worms also gives the same expression, but in order thus: "Here I stand; I can do no otherwise; God help me; amen!" This document was printed in 1521, and none is found between these dates. It was prepared before Luther's death, and printed shortly afterward, so that many were then living who could have refuted it, and would have done so had it not been strictly true. Melanchthon was also then watching over the memory of his deceased friend, and he was not a man seeking after theatrical effect, and would certainly have made the correction had there been an error.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) February, 1882.—1. Secretan, The Problem of Prayer. 2. Robin, Measures for the Repression of Crime. 3. Pastor and Priest, an Episode of Terror in Alsace. 4. German Chronicles, by Lichtenberger. Literary Notices by Ch. B., and Monthly Review by Pressensé.

March, 1882.—1. Secretan, Problem of Prayer; Second Article. 2. Monod, The Light of the World. 3. Alone. A Psychological Romance. Literary Notices by Roberty, and Monthly Review by Pressensé.

April, 1882.—L. E., Origin of the Reformation in France. 2. Schloesing, The Criticism of Renouvier. 3. Benoit, Means of Reviving Christian Life in our Churches. 4. Sabatier, Literary Chronicle. English Chronicles by E. W., and Monthly Review by Pressensé.

The *Revue Chretienne* is distinguished for the readiness with which it turns to matters of general import, and an article in the February number is wholly devoted to the measures for the repression of crime in criminals who have served their term of imprisonment and returned to the community. These are decidedly the most dangerous classes, for they soon become professional criminals, who know no other way of gaining a living than of preying on the community. This *vagabond class* is rapidly increasing in Paris, and is a subject of alarm to politico-economists. Eleven thousand of them were arrested in 1877, and thirteen thousand in 1880. One prisoner in ten, at least, is of this *vagabond* class, and these appear four times oftener than any other, so that vagabonds alone form about one half of those who appear before the courts. In the beginning these men are not dangerous, but when they have once

entered the fatal path, they go rapidly, and, classed as they are among released criminals, they soon enter a more depraved and wicked class, with whom they become acquainted in the prisons. The author believes that much of this evil might be cured by an efficacious protection before their first committal, or at least by admission into some protective institution for a while after their release from prison. Their very isolation from society renders them a prey to crime, and thus the grand recruits for the great army of criminals. Thus the article is mainly devoted to the recommendation for the establishment of asylums or homes where released criminals may go for a meal and lodging, and good advice and assistance in finding employment and leading an honest life.

In the April number Benoit makes a valiant appeal for the revival of religious life in the Protestant Churches. And this awakening in the French Churches was certainly never more necessary than to-day. The doors are rapidly opening in all parts of France for the preaching of the Gospel. It is very gratifying to learn of the success obtained by Protestant evangelists in Catholic centers. Hirsh is busy in the Creuse and the Corrèze, and Fourneau, Revéillaud, and Meyer, to name only these, are on the platform in other departments. All that is needed is to announce anywhere a *conférence* or lecture on religious and moral subjects, be it in the theaters, ball-rooms, or Protestant temples, as the churches are called, and they are sure of a well-disposed and attentive crowd. And especially is this the case in the halls where popular meetings are organized for the *ouvriers*, or workingmen, whether in Paris or Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rochefort, or Toulouse. The question that French pastors and Christians are now asking of the world, indeed, is this: "Who will evangelize our country?" Who will furnish the workmen for this sacred work? This aid cannot come from even Liberal Catholicism, for this is more Catholic than Liberal, that is, more Romish than Christian. It is well to extend to such work a Christian sympathy, especially when it comes, for instance, in so respectable and attractive a form as from Père Hyacinthe, but his influence is confined to a very narrow sphere. No, the Church that must evangelize the France of to-day is that of the sixteenth century—the Church of the Reformation. It is to that Church that so

many hungry and eager spirits are now looking for light and truth. It is to the French Protestants that the masses in France, who are dissatisfied with the false or negative religion of the day, are extending their arms and uttering the Macedonian cry. And those, alas! feel their own weakness and powerlessness. These very Churches, who would need to consecrate themselves to the work of revival in the bosom of the Catholic masses, how much they need a revival in their own midst! How difficult it is for them to draw even a fraction of their professed followers to their altars. One of the pastors recently exclaimed: "I recollect with sorrow a Sabbath lately passed in a church in Vaunage. As I was going to the temple, I passed through a group of about sixty men, most of them Protestants, who were enjoying the sun and chatting. I thought, in my simplicity, that they were awaiting the passage of the preacher in order to follow him to the house of prayer. But the service was finished without their crossing the threshold. They would have thought themselves dishonored by such an act, though, in default of piety, curiosity alone might have attracted them to hear a stranger's voice." Many honest endeavors have been made to render Protestant services attractive to French hearers, and none of a more decided character than that of Pastor Bersier of the Temple de l'Etoile, so well known to all Protestant Christians who spend any time in Paris. Bersier has prepared a litany for the use of the Reformed Churches of France, and uses it in his church by means of a reader who assists him. It is very beautiful to read and to listen to, but it borders much on the service of the Episcopalian Church, and is thus judged by the author of this article: "One can use this only in rare cases, and mainly in congregations where religious life already exists. I do not believe that the experience is entirely favorable. I recall the painful impression that this Anglican service made on my own mind. These lifeless responses, this irreverent habit of reciting together the Lord's Prayer in the style of the schools, fairly scanning the sentences. One can attribute to various causes the relative success that it has obtained in the Church of Bersier. But the children of the Huguenots who so often worshiped in caves and forests find this portion of the service very long, and it is only made supportable by the thought of

soon hearing the eloquent and living words of the eminent preacher."

One of the gifted family of the Monods, in his article in the March number on "The Light of the *World*," runs into the same strain of sorrow and appeal to his colleagues in the great work of the salvation of France: "O members of the Evangelical Free Churches, will you deserve your beautiful name? Will you indeed be free, with not merely a negative liberty, which is not a favorable soil for the growth of true liberty, but with that liberty itself, the glorious liberty of the children of God? Will you be evangelical Christians? Will you be the *light of the world?* Then submit to the Gospel, not only in your heart but in your life. Be inspired with the feelings that were in Jesus Christ. In the midst of men, be new men; be the most generous, the most humble, and most just, for no kindness, no charity, is of value without *justice*. Be the first to forget wrongs suffered, the last to welcome or extend evil reports without motive. Show yourselves men of faith and courage; this will be the light to your feet. Perhaps it will not be seen, but what matters it? It is the artificial lights alone that burn to be seen; the Roman candle or the rocket dazzles for a moment and then sinks back into darkness. But the light you are required to be does not draw attention to itself; it illumines the path of men that they may reach the goal that is assigned them, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." This beautiful and saintly article was the substance of a discourse delivered at the opening of the seventeenth Synod of the *Evangelical* Churches of France; and this does not by any means include all the so-called *Reformed Churches*. Many of these, alas! have so far wandered from the true Light of the world that they are indeed false lights, whose light is darkness. But, fortunately, many others have looked steadily at the true light, though almost obscured, and they still see and recognize it, and are the leaven that shall inspire the lump. Among these the Monods stand out in bold relief, and seldom appeal to their comrades and followers without words so fitting, and thoughts so pure and godly, that we may yet hope for the evangelization of France from their efforts alone. But as the King's business bideth no delay, does it not behoove the Christian world to listen to their Macedonian cry?

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

HOME MISSION WORK IN GERMANY.

The anti-Jewish raid and the political excitement in Germany threatened to swamp all true religious work, and many of the truest Christians have been suffering at heart at the gloomy prospect for German cities overwhelmed with socialism and infidelity. In the midst of this gloom and doubt, the very man who has been so active in opposition to the Jews and Socialists, the famous court chaplain, Stoecker, started a movement in the interest of "Christian Socialism," as he christened it, which is nothing less than an extensive home mission movement for the aid and regeneration of all classes destitute of friends and deprived of Christian influences. This has been working now for some time, and has recently made its annual report, which shows surprising results, that are the best proof of its need and acceptability. The statistics of its work tell a very significant story of the destitution of the lower classes in the most intelligent city of the world, as Berlin claims to be.

The first attention of the band of workers was devoted to the reformation of discharged criminals, and their success in this line has gained the thanks of the Consistory and the prison authorities. Three hundred and fourteen of this class have been under the care of the city missionaries, who have paid them frequent visits, and read the Bible for them and joined in song and prayer, besides finding them shelter and employment. One of the "brothers" is at the head of an asylum for this class on leaving prison, and before they have employment, the most dangerous crisis for the released criminal. This work is supported by voluntary contribution, and some light employment is carried on by those who are temporarily in the asylum. Court Chaplain Stoecker promises great results from this branch of their work. The twenty-three missionaries in the service of this cause have made more than sixty thousand visits in some of the most degraded quarters of the capital. About forty thousand families are in connection with the mission and aided or counseled by it; and the record of these is quite peculiar. Nearly forty thousand unbaptized children were found, which is, among the Germans, realized to be a sad neglect. About two thousand of these have been baptized with the consent of the parents, the others still hold back under Socialistic or anti-Christian influences. The startling fact is announced that five thousand unbaptized children die yearly. By the influence of the missionaries the figures of unconsecrated wedlock have also been notably reduced; for a few years it was seventy-five in one hundred; this is now reduced to fifty-seven. This neglect of the marriage ceremony was largely caused by the preliminaries and expense of a Church marriage. Under the civil marriage law the obstacles are in great part removed, and it is thus more easy to induce the parties to legalize their union and legitimate their children.

And again, the city mission is introducing the Sunday-school work into their sphere, hitherto scarcely known at all. They report an average attendance at their schools of two thousand one hundred and seventy-five. They have four thousand five hundred and thirty-four subscribers to religious publications adapted to their wants, and have distributed seventy thousand tracts, sold one hundred and eighty-seven Bibles, three hundred and sixty-five New Testaments, and donated eight hundred and twenty-two religious books. They have three large and several small halls where they give periodical biblical instruction of a simple and attractive character. In one large hall known as the *Friedens Kapelle* (Peace Chapel) they hold Bible meetings, prayer-meetings, children's meetings, a Sunday-school, and a sewing school for women and girls; and in addition to this there are singing schools for men, women, and children, and a people's library. A little while ago this work would have been regarded with an unfriendly eye by the city pastors as an infringement on their territory, as all these people are theoretically in their parishes and under their care; but the missionaries report two thousand visits made to the clergymen of the parishes, a proof of the friendly relation existing between them. Berlin has parishes containing from eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand souls. No pastor can take care of these—they are not parishes, but chaos; and their very numbers prove how greatly the masses have been neglected by the "Establishment." The cry has now gone forth: "Let there be light in these dark places!" and the clergy in this period of irreligious activity begin to see the brink of ruin near which their cause now stands. They therefore now gladly receive honest and conscientious help from any quarter. And the masses now seem strangely ready for it. At the recent Easter festivities crowds of hearers thronged the churches where believing preachers were announcing the word of God. But there was no room for them. Thousands were obliged to turn away; and good men say that such a condition of things cries aloud to heaven, and welcome religious life and work even from a city mission.

AUSTRIA AND THE JEWISH QUESTION.

The Austrians now find themselves, *nolens volens*, involved in the Jewish question. The tens of thousands escaping from Russia and making their way to the United States mainly assemble in the cities of Austrian Provinces, just over the Russian border, and this brings out into activity the native and local Jews in the effort to guide them. Some two hundred rabbis, from Galicia and Buckovina have just held a convention in Lemberg, and have taken measures that make it appear that the Jews of these provinces, at least, would form a state within a state, which move is quite distasteful to the government and the people at large. The government has for some time been endeavoring to dissolve certain Jewish associations that were evidently of a political, rather than a religious, character, so that the Jews might become more

allied to and commingled with the other population. The orthodox Jews in the eastern provinces of the monarchy oppose this with great bitterness, seeming, in addition to the enjoyment of all state rights, to desire to remain still a peculiar, close corporation. In this sense the meeting of the rabbis was convened at Lemberg under the auspices of a delegate to the Parliament who is a Jewish rabbi.

The resolutions passed at this convention are a curiosity. The severest measures are to be adopted toward those Jews who in any way endeavor to introduce progressive ideas into the Jewish communities. No one may hereafter be elected to any body, be it Municipal Council, Diet, or Parliament, who does not strictly observe all ritual ceremonies. Even the right to vote is to be denied to any such offending person. Any Jews who violate ceremonial directions must be buried in that part of the grave-yards allotted to criminals and suicides. In social circles all such violators of Jewish ritual are to be avoided, and the verdict in all such cases is to be given by the rabbis. This savage and mediæval legislation has greatly exasperated the Progressive or Liberal Jews, who ask protection from the government in this trouble with their coreligionists, who have possession of the ground and the implements of their faith. This assumption over state laws is causing a great excitement in these provinces, which will soon, under such legislation, be ready to follow the example of the Russians. The masses are being enlightened on the matter by radical anti-Semitic sheets that indulge in low witticisms and caricature against the assumptions of the rabbis. In Vienna, and other large cities of Austria, radical papers are springing up in all quarters, and in Bohemia and Hungary the hatred against the Germans is giving way for the more active raid against the Jews. The Hebrew circles are alarmed to see an effort being made to hold anti-Semitic meetings in that capital, until now the stronghold of the moneyed Jews of all the empire. For the nonce, the government has tried to suppress these meetings, and thinks to have crushed the germ in the egg. But in reality this procedure simply places the anti-Semitics before the populace as martyrs. This Austrian movement against the Jews is so much the more dangerous because it is impelled by great hatred toward the Jews without any regard to their moral or religious status. The action of the rabbis makes it purely political. Even the most earnest voices that are raised against the Jews of Austria announce this, for the opposition is by no means confined to the low satirical sheets. A monograph from a professor of the University of Vienna, entitled "Babylon, Judaism, and Christendom," transposes into its exact counterpart the expression, "Salvation comes from the Jews." It contends that only the anti-Semitic and Gentile nations are on the right path, and should follow it more energetically. The God of the Jewish people was only the God of a race, and the enemies of the Jews are those alone who have the universal God of all. The author claims that the New Testament has not the least connection with the Old, and that Christ and the rise of Christianity in Israel are only to be explained by the assumption and pride

of the Jews in their race, causing a radical break with them, and the appearance of Christ among them as a protest. From the above it is evident that the imagination of some of the enemies of the Jews has got the better of their judgment, which goes to prove the exceeding bitterness of the quarrel. The watchword of this Austrian *savant* is, "Annihilation of Asiatic Demonism among Christian nations;" and it is much to be feared that this order will find acceptable soil among the multitude, who will be ready to realize it as soon as it is clear that police regulations can by no means settle the burning question. These orthodox Jews of Lemberg, with their ridiculous resolutions, are paving the way to trouble in Austria, and giving the probable solution to much of that in other European lands.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF PALESTINE.

This work continues to go bravely on, and is likely to be hastened rather than retarded by the rivalry growing up among different religious denominations in the foreign work, and the jealousy of the home powers. The Germans are taking a great interest in the work, and the "Evangelical Jerusalem Association" is just out with its statistics for the past year. It is now supporting in Palestine one hundred and thirty-nine foreign workers with four hundred and seventy-one native helpers. It reports one hundred and ten preaching stations, five thousand four hundred and fifty-five attendants, and one thousand three hundred and thirty-three communicants, and almost thirteen thousand children in its schools. The new Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem will be a German, appointed by the Prussian Crown, to succeed the deceased Bishop Barclay; and he may enter on his work with much confidence in his field of labor backed by his German supporters. This activity seems to increase the zeal of the Greek Church, for which there is ample room. This body has just established in Beyroot a "Benevolent Association," and a "Women's Aid Society." And even the Mohammedans there have founded a "Society for Useful Purposes." The Catholic Church is also becoming quite energetic under the guidance of the zealous and able patriarch recently sent there, and since this Church commands great means, it expects soon to overshadow all other Christian workers in Palestine. These facts induce the German Jerusalem Association to call for increased effort for the coming year that it may not be left in the background. To stimulate German zeal it narrates the work of other non-German organizations in the East, and singles out the Americans as very active among the Copts of Egypt. It says that in the greater cities of Egypt are to be found Protestant congregations of natives that often number hundreds of souls, with large schools to which the children go in flocks, so that the buildings can scarcely contain them. In Upper Egypt there are already whole villages, priests and people, that have gone over to the Gospel. A celebrated German scholar and Oriental explorer, just returned from a long stay and labor in these lands, gives it as his opinion that at no very distant period the

Copt Christians of Upper Egypt will go *en masse* into the Protestant Churches. The German workers would gladly have this encouraging picture incite their people to greater zeal and vigilance. And this report makes no allusion to the so-called temple colonies, mainly from South Germany, which continue to work with all zeal and self-sacrifice in the evangelization of Palestine.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The French educators of the day are pursuing a very wise course in not despising their German neighbors, but rather looking toward them for what good they may get out of their Nazareth. M. Michael Bréal, one of the liveliest and most honest of them, has just given to his people a little work in duodecimo entitled, "Pedagogical Excursions." Bréal is greatly interested in the reform in the secondary schools of France, and to this end made a hasty visit to Germany to inspect the schools there, and confines his work solely to that object. He visits the schools from the highest to the lowest, makes the personal acquaintance of teachers and pupils, asks questions and patiently listens to replies, and thus treasures up a mass of practical and interesting knowledge which he gives to his countrymen in the book above quoted. He finds peculiar pleasure in the German gymnasium, and closely studies its organization, and contrasts this with the secondary schools of France thus: "Our French lyceum is the child of the doctrine and method of the Jesuits. Therefore we find in the conventual style of our schools the suppression of the family. This cloistral life, with the silence of its refectories, its prohibitions of every shade, its system of punishments and rewards, as well as of lessons and exercises, seems to make it its main object to kill all individual initiative, and confine the pupil to forms and ceremonies. To this formula of Jesuitical teaching add the military style of character imposed by the rule of Napoleon, whose main object was to make soldiers, and you have the natural explanation of the physiology of these establishments—half barracks and half cloisters—that we call *Lyceums*. Very different is the aspect of the German Gymnasium. There are few or no pupils in commons, a method calculated to excite rather than to suppress the impulse of young minds. They do not preach abstention, but responsibility; instead of mere verbal culture, where form seems to be the main purpose, they teach a practical culture whose aim is to familiarize the young with the things themselves. In France we make, or at least used to make, better Latin verses; in Germany they acquire a better understanding of the classic authors. Young people are put into the presence of difficulties and taught to conquer them. Their system of education is admirably adapted to the genius and the interests of Germany. The Reformation, which put the individual into possession of himself, has been the inspiration of German education. This has made a people so

strong that we may well say that they are to-day better armed for the great conflict of life than their neighbors." We submit that this is very sensible talk from a Frenchman in regard to Germany, and we consider the book of Bréal admirably conceived to aid France in throwing off the traditional spirit of Jesuitism that has so long ruled her pedagogics.

The infamous character of many of the French periodicals and novels of the day is arousing all classes of decent, not to say moral and religious, Frenchmen. The French Protestants especially are trying to get a bill through Parliament to suppress all palpably obscene literature, let it bear what name it may. The flood of filth has been rising of late from month to month, so that one dare not stop at the window of a bookstore, or the showcases of the newsman, for fear of encountering the most disgustingly obscene illustrations on the pages of popular sheets, designed mainly to allure and ruin the young. A popular daily journal that pretends to class itself with the respectable press, and has the reputation of being subsidized by the Orleans family in their political interests, now publishes in its daily literary department the foul trash of the ill-smelling Zola. Words cannot characterize the base colors in which this obscene author daily paints the home manners of the French trading classes, known in France as the *Bourgeoisie*. His libels are calumnies against France as well as against a large class of the French capital and the country, and decent Frenchmen hope that in some way the laws may be made to reach him and the peddlers of filth that display his putrid garbage to the eyes of the young and innocent, to inoculate them with the loathsome disease of which Zola is a type and a symbol. His so-called *naturalism* is simply another name for beastliness.

In Germany there is now appearing in considerable numbers a class of books known as popular literature for religious instruction, their aim being to pass beyond the wants of the pulpit and congregation into the sphere of religious pedagogics. Of these we name a few. First, the capital work on "Bible Knowledge," by Dr. Kübel, of Tübingen. This now comes out in its third edition, and thus proves its availability for popular religious teachers and assistants in the Sunday-school, now rapidly growing in Germany. The same praise may be awarded to the "Life of Jesus," by Prof. Weitbrecht, of Stuttgart, military chaplain at that post. The biblical matter is received by all as invulnerable to criticism, as simple though comprehensive, and given in pure language. Pastor Röntsch takes up a special problem in New Testament history in his work entitled, "Jesus Messiah, the Lord and his People." In it he treats the question: "How could it come to pass that Israel rejected its Messiah?" and draws his positions mainly from the Gospel of John. The famous commentator, Dr. J. P. Lange, comes forth with a very peculiar effort bearing the cognomen, "Outlines of Bible History." This later work shares all the well-known lights and shadows of the original theologian. An abundance of intelligent thought and delicate perceptions hover around the lines, which seem sometimes hardly to

comport with the solemnity of the subject. But when these are stripped of their sparkling vestments, an overwhelming light is cast on persons and events that fully repays the student for his labor, and leads him to be thankful to the venerable and indefatigable commentator for all his investigations in the field of exegetics and the life of Jesus. This so-called handy form of theological thought is daily becoming more popular in Germany, and it is quite a significant occurrence when the author and editor of the largest Bible work of the period, in his old age takes up his pen to converse in familiar accents about the Book whose exegesis has been his life-work.

A new volume of Herzog's great work, "Real Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology," has just appeared, and, like its predecessors, is welcomed by the German public with gratitude. This is the ninth of the series, and it contains some very important articles on the history of the Reformation. These are: LUTHER by Köstlin, MELANCHTHON by Herrlinger, and the CATECHISM OF LUTHER by Zezschwitz. Then come articles entitled MARY, MESSIAH, LUKE, MARK, and MATTHEW. That on Mary treats of the abuses of the Romish Church in connection with the mother of Christ. Several articles that introduce us to the evangelical bodies of the hour are of especial interest, namely, the LUTHERANS, by Wangemann; METHODISTS, by Schöll; and METHODISM IN AMERICA, by Schaff. And while the history of the Lutheran separation presents a sorry picture of discord and dissolution, that on Methodism, with its twenty million adherents in England and America, shows this Church to be among the most influential of the world, to the astonishment of the Germans, who are still in doubt as to who these Methodists are. The article kindly declares that they are laying aside some of their early eccentricities, but neglects to add, which would have been but just, that they are annoying the Established Church with their aggressive missions.

"Peace between Church and State" is the title of a valuable work that has just appeared in Germany from the pen of a theologian of Brandenburg. It is a thorough treatise of the development of the conflict in Prussia between the Papacy and the Evangelical Church. Volume First treats of Emperor William, Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Bismarck. The author places himself on a conciliatory platform, and will find, if possible, some means of attaining peace and putting an end to the tiresome and endless *Kultur Kampf*, so called, without, at the same time, doing violence to the conscientiousness of the Protestant population of the realm. He protests energetically against the attacks of the Pope on Protestantism; and with a wealth of illustration follows the events of the period into minute details and the needs of the Church. The second volume, now in press and soon to appear, promises a thorough investigation and systematic presentation of the later events from the testimonies of the Romish Church, and also the political relations of the Evangelical Church to the State. The Prussian clergy receive the work well, and wish it a large circulation with a view to throw the light of

history and reason on the present embarrassing relations between Church and State.

In the line of Old Testament literature, the latest work is the Commentary of Hitzig on the twelve Minor Prophets, enlarged by Steiner of Zurich, a loving pupil of the deceased theologian. The latter has added the rich material afforded by the studies of the last twenty years, but has not perhaps gone as thoroughly as he might into the work, out of love for the labor of his master, which he would treat with filial piety. This revision will keep this valuable work before the public, and the memory of its distinguished author fresh in the minds of his pupils. A Jewish scholar, Dr. Maybaum, in his work on "The Development of the Old Israelitish Priesthood," endeavors to prove that the Levitic priesthood was not formed till the period of the exile. In doing this he picks to pieces the Pentateuch, and leaves very little of the Mosaic period. A Roman Catholic author gives to the world another revision of Jeremiah, in which he pays special respect to the Vulgate, in contrast to Scholz. In this he gives a very practical exposition of several subjects of interest to the Catholic Church, such as celibacy, the unity of the Catholic Church, and he even goes into the discussion of cremation, attendance on Church, duties of servants, and the inevitable *Kultur Kampf*.

Herzog, whom we have already named in connection with the famous Encyclopedia, is a tireless Church publicist; he has just issued a Manual of Church History which excites considerable interest because it appears simultaneously with another of the same title by his colleague, Schmid. But the two works are of a very different ecclesiastical shade. Herzog is a liberal theologian, while Schmid is strict Lutheran. Herzog brings his narrative down to the beginning of the present century —Schmid comes down to the present period. Both are professors in Erlangen, and have long been active in academic work. Herzog occupies three times the space of Schmid, and brings the historical feature of his narrative into bold relief. Schmid's manual is rather designed for beginners in the study of Church History, while his colleague is more thorough and profound in the matter of historical development. Herzog is decidedly ahead in the fervor of evangelical conviction, and the vivacity and thoroughness of his mode of presentation. He promises another volume, or at least a supplement, which will bring his narrative down to the history of our century. This is to appear in about a year, and his friends hope that he may be able to keep his promise.

The latest statistics of the Prussian Protestant Church present some interesting features. It numbers, including Moravians, Old Lutherans, and Mennonites, 13,604,537; the Catholic Church, with its few variations of Christian Catholics, German Catholics, and Old Catholics, 8,517,150 The increase is on the Catholic side. The Protestant population predominates in Pomerania, Brandenburg, the city of Berlin, and East Prus-

sia. The pastorates number 6,608, the church buildings 10,393. In Berlin there is a church edifice for every 9,000 souls, and a pastorate to every 8,000; there are in all 981,813 Protestants, with 123 pastorates and 108 church buildings. The provinces of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Pomerania are best provided with church appliances. So far as clerical power and church buildings are concerned, Berlin is worse off, numerically, than any of the most unfavorably placed districts. A review of the last twenty years of their church work shows a falling off numerically and comparatively in buildings and pastors. Since 1858, 1,000 churches have been newly built or restored, and of these 268 are in places that were previously without churches. On the whole, these figures are by no means gratifying, and should serve to alarm and stimulate the Protestant and religious population to be up and doing.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Modern Anglican Theology. Chapters on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jewett, and on the Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement. Third edition, revised, to which is prefixed a Memoir of Canon Kingsley, with Personal Reminiscences. By Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., author of "Essays for the Times," "National Education," "The Living Wesley," "The Churchmanship of John Wesley," etc. 8vo, pp. 552. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road.

Discourses and Addresses on Leading Truths of Religion and Philosophy. By Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., author of "Modern Anglican Theology," etc. 8vo, pp. 454. London: Published for the Author. Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road.

Dr. Rigg is personally known to a numerous circle of American friends, as more than once a visitor to our shores; twice in an official character, namely, as delegate to the Evangelical Alliance and British delegate to our General Conference. In English Methodism and outside Methodism he is known as a writer of great ability upon a varied range of subjects.

The first of the above volumes is mainly a collection of portraitures and critical estimates of the most eminent personages who were recognized as leaders of what was called the Broad Church. Prefixed (should it not have been added?) to these in the present volume is quite a full biography of Kingsley, between whom and the writer existed a personal friendship. This survey of the modern "Latitudinarian School of Divines" is critical but courteous, and forms a series of complete delineations, attractive to the thoughtful reader, and very satisfactory to those desirous of studying the Broad Church movement; a movement full of

interest, and instructive in its bearings upon our theological present and future. Several of these sketches were written in Dr. Rigg's earlier prime for our American Methodist Quarterly Review in the golden days of Dr. M'Clintock's editorship. But the absurd practice of concealing the names of the contributors, then maintained, deprived the writer here of his meed of fame, and rendered us ignorant whom we were to thank for the entertainment and instruction we enjoyed. In dealing with these brilliant men Dr. Rigg is faithful to his trust. He firmly maintains against them the "sacrificial theology." Perhaps he has a shade or so more of the "commercial" view of the atonement than we should prefer. But his volume is well worthy the perusal of our theological inquirers.

The record of these two volumes consists mostly of addresses to public audiences. The first three are upon topics of Christian philosophy. The next seven are discourses called forth by the events of the year in which Dr. Rigg was President of the British Conference. The third section consists of contemplations of the scenes of the earlier ministry of our Lord. A fourth is made up of Educational Addresses, a subject of which Dr. Rigg's educational position has made him master. Though mostly delivered in public, the style is not highly oratorical or ornate. Dr. Rigg is eminently master of a pure and elevated English diction; his spirit is courteous toward even the most opposite opinions; he is free from all mannerisms; his views of things, though not enthusiastically optimistic, are cheering and hopeful; his surveys of the age in comparison with the past and future bespeak the true Christian philosopher.

Perhaps the choicest specimen of the volume is his address delivered in 1878 before the Victoria Institute of London, Lord Shaftesbury in the chair, on the present state of English Christianity. Its retrospective glance finds antichristianity far more menacing formerly than now. He gives very much in description the same view as Dr. Dorchester has, with so much affluence of facts, demonstrated by statistical figures. "Ten years ago," he tells us, "infidelity was more confident in its tone, notwithstanding all that has since been published in the way of skeptical argument or speculation, than it is to-day. Ten years ago it was not suspected by many how much support Christianity could claim from philosophy, or how powerfully the defenders of Christianity would be able to maintain their contention against the usurpations and dogmatism of science." He

then traces the surging flood of infidelity as it rose in the eighteenth century, when it was met and overthrown by Berkeley, Paley, Butler, and Campbell. Yet these received a mighty reenforcement from the great Methodist revival among the humbler ranks, followed by the evangelical Calvinistic Low Church revival led by Simeon in Cambridge University. "Charles Simeon, entering into the field at Cambridge which his erratic predecessor, Rowland Hill, had helped to prepare, gave form and direction to the Evangelical Low Church movement. In this he was greatly aided by the authority and influence of Dr. Milner, Dean of Carlisle, and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. Joseph Milner's 'Church History'—he was the brother of the dean—Scott's 'Commentary,' and even the 'Olney Hymns,' had furnished a necessary apparatus and basis for the work of leavening the Church of England with Evangelical ideas and life which Simeon organized. Earlier still, indeed, the preaching of Romaine in London and Venn in Yorkshire had also helped to prepare the way for an Evangelical revival in the Church; but of the Evangelical movement in its permanent organization Simeon's preaching at Cambridge and his personal intercourse with the undergraduates maintained the central energy and impulse, while his unbounded liberality in the use of his private fortune for the planting throughout the country of Evangelical clergymen, and the foundation of well-guarded trusts in the interests of Evangelical orthodoxy, especially in the most influential town centers and the most frequented places of fashionable resort, enabled him to lay wide and firm the basis of Low Church Evangelical revival and extension. He died little more than forty years ago, just, indeed, as the earlier preludings of the High Church revival were beginning to produce a sensible effect, not only in Oxford, but through a widening circle. During fifty years preceding he had been doing his work at Cambridge. John Wesley, for six years before his own death, had known him, and had hailed him as an earnest fellow-laborer. His labors thus occupied the interval between John Wesley and the rise of the Oxford High Church party. The movement of which he was the leading organizer must be reckoned as the second wave of religious influence which, during the past hundred years, has spread widely through the land." The third revival wave sprang from the influence of Wilberforce and his friends and allies, who was "in many respects the forerunner of Lord Shaftesbury." The last religious wave was the Oxford ritualistic

movement, which is treated by Dr. Rigg with a very dexterous courtesy, as well as a true comprehensive catholicity. "It cannot be doubted that in a sense the Oxford revival was the result, humanly speaking, of the Evangelical movement during the half century preceding. It was not merely in great part a reaction from that movement, it was in part a direct fruit of it; at least in this sense, that some of the leading souls in the Oxford movement were first quickened into spiritual life under Evangelical doctrines and in Evangelical homes." This movement, unlike its predecessors, awakened the aristocracy of England, and spread a spirit of religious earnestness and religious philanthropy. "High Church zeal has besides applied itself to the reclaiming and converting of the lowest classes of our large towns with great earnestness, and not without success. It works more by specific missions, by brotherhoods and sisterhoods, than the evangelical section of the Church; it makes less of doctrine and much more of ritual; it is great in services and in public demonstrations; it cultivates attractive music, and makes the Church the theater of much symbolism and much decoration; its donations are most generous and its charities profuse. Surely no Evangelical Protestant of a Catholic spirit, however strong in his Protestant and Evangelical convictions, can fail to recognize much good in a party which numbers among its leading men such preachers as Canon Liddon and such working clergy as the newly-appointed Bishop of Lichfield. There is large common ground between such men and earnest Evangelicals. Whatever their High Anglicanism may mean, whatever it may imply from which an Evangelical Low Churchman or a Nonconformist is bound strongly to dissent, it is certain that Evangelical doctrine forms the main staple in the ordinary public ministrations of such High Churchmen as I have named." These "waves" our orator holds to be all truly religious "revivals," with much that is human in them, yet with much from God in each and all. That in a portion of the Church subjected to so much sarcasm as the ritualists so much of zealous piety is found is matter of rejoicing; and we admire the bold catholicity that so amply and eloquently appreciates it.

And Dr. Rigg finds present English morals to be a high improvement upon those of the past. "We complain to-day of the wicked rudeness of our street-boys in certain parts of London, insulting passengers, and especially women, as they move to and fro. But what are the worst excesses of our street scum to-day

compared to the daring and customary outrages of the fashionable Mohocks of London, in the most frequented West-end thoroughfares, during the first third of the last century? To have put down with a strong hand those gentlemen Mohocks was counted one of the high merits of England's greatest minister of that age. Those were days in which famous highwaymen were favorites in fashionable society, kept their lodgings publicly in St. James-street and Jermyn-street, were privileged to fight duels with military officers, and openly played bowls on the best-frequented greens and in the company of the most highly titled of the nobility. Intemperance—the intemperance of the masses of the people—is often spoken of as one of the special curses and disgraces of our time; and curse indeed it is, beyond power of words to describe its shame and its horrors. Gin-drinking, in particular, is the peculiar disgrace and ruin of London and of our larger cities. Nevertheless, the gin-drinking of to-day is positively inconsiderable in proportion when compared with the gin-drinking of 1750. Even our lowest classes accordingly, the classes which we sometimes think have defied so obstinately and so hopelessly the ameliorating influences of our Christianity during the present century, have notwithstanding shared, more or less, in the general improvement. It cannot be doubted that the language, the morals, the manners to-day of the Seven Dials or Ratcliff Highway are very far less lewd, less coarse, less violent and offensive, than the language, the morals, the manners which prevailed in the days of Swift and Bolingbroke among the profligate classes of fashionable life in St. James-street and Mayfair. And as to all sections of reputable society of to-day—the better artisans, the middle classes, the higher ranks—who can doubt the immeasurable advance and improvement which has taken place?"

Similarly, in a later discourse, Dr. Rigg cheerfully anticipates from past victories the triumph of a pure Christianity over every opponent in the world. We have a higher and more powerful Christianity than that which overcame the ancient idolatries; why should it not conquer the modern? We have a Christianity mightier than that which won the Reformation; why should not the overthrow of Popery be complete? We have a more demonstrative Christian philosophy than that which vanquished Neo-Platonism, and that which subdued the infidelity of revolutionary France; why need we tremble before the latest skepticism? We respond with cheer to this cheery view.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Catholic Publication Society, 9 Barclay-street. 1882.

The first three Lectures of this eminent Catholic prelate are devoted to a defense of our common Christianity against the assaults of modern scientists and philosophers. So eloquently and ably is this done that in our reading the hearts of us two seemed to draw nearer together, and our own heart seemed to ask why should there be so fixedly a great gulf, a *χάσμα μέγα*, between us. We have "one Lord, one faith (in Christ,) one baptism." And yet this our Christian brother repudiates our communion, discards our worship, denies our human right to our own moral judgments, excludes us with horror from his consecrated cemetery, and pronounces us a heretic who needs correction and straitening into orthodoxy, even, if necessary, by physical infliction and force. Thus a *σχίσμα* and a *χάσμα μέγα* stand, as a moveless and mournful reality between us.

The reason and responsibility for this schism open upon us the moment we commence the fourth lecture describing "The Catholic Church." Dear to us, as a sweet music, is the very word CATHOLIC as inherited, not indeed from Christ, nor from his apostles, but from the Creed of the early ages, by all true justified maintainers of the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." In that three-fold oneness is their Unity; in that broad, universal comprehension is their Catholicity; under the Divine Head of the Church are they recognized as salt of the earth and heirs of heaven. But as with an inflexible cleaver the learned prelate creates a direful schism. He takes a *section* of the holy body, cuts it out from the rest, and limits the name and attribute of Catholicity to that section or "sect." Not only are the younger sections, the Protestant, but sections older than the Roman, the Syriac, where Christ himself laid the foundations, the Greek, in whose language the New Testament speaks to us through all ages, both older than Rome, are excommunicated. All, save the communion of the bloody pagan capital, are

> "Shorn from the holy altar of the Church
> And offered up as sacred to perdition."

All this is done under the claim that Peter, endowed with the successional kingship of Christ, established his throne at Rome; an assumption unknown to and contradicted by the New Testament documents, and unaffirmed by any contemporary authority, and so utterly unhistorical and untrue.

In a chapter on the "Decline of Protestantism," the venerated prelate plausibly finds Congregationalism in a state of disintegration, and Episcopalianism a feeble, aristocratic minimum; but coming to Methodism, he acknowledges a "success" and a "preponderance." He honors us with several pages, in which, leaving out numerous depreciatory phrases, somewhat otiose in their character, we seem not seldom to discern that the religious emotion of Dr. Spalding kindles with more sympathy than he is quite willing to reveal. How profoundly, in so discerning, do we deplore the barriers he is obliged to set up that prevent sympathy from enlarging into communion! It is in this sympathy, in which we find traces of the inner oneness of all devout believers in Christ, which will be revealed when these temporal bars have vanished at the final revelation of the sons of God. If we are ever admitted to the vision of God we expect to find myriads of Roman saints in that transcendent glory. They are mistakes which divide us; mistakes not guiltless; but mistakes that will be cleared up at the grand upclearing. Dr. Spalding recognizes the true Catholicism in Methodism in the following frank statement of the secret of her success:

"The Methodist preachers appealed to sentiments which are part of our religious nature; and in this respect their sermons were but repetitions of truths which have been announced in the Church from the beginning. The necessity of salvation, the merits of the Passion and death of our Lord, the power of faith, the evil of sin, the need of repentance, the efficacy of prayer, God's mercy, and the joy of a holy life, are not subjects which Methodism, or any form of Protestantism, has [first] introduced into the Christian pulpit. But the Methodist exhorters urged these truths with a power and freshness which brought them home to those who were either ignorant of religion or accustomed to hear from the pulpit only moral essays and sectarian controversy."

And yet Dr. Spalding maintains that Methodism is contributing to the decline of Protestantism by reducing religion to a mere feeling to the neglect of doctrine and historic connection, that is, with the Roman papacy. But Methodism, however much she relies on emotion, and however much she has used moving machineries, has not made such her predominant aim or reliance. Dr. Spalding's own statement shows on what a body of vital *truths*, the vital *doctrines* of Christianity, she has made her success depend. The mere *emotion* has never been her aim, but such a change of heart and life as renews the man in Christ. Her avowed aim is not to diffuse shallow emotionalism, but to "spread Scriptural HOLINESS through the land." She aims to do this by vital truths, deep experiences, and efficient organisms, with, greatest specialty of all, Christ as our sole head and "con-

ter of unity." In holding that head and center, we are one with the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, the Reformed, Churches, and with Bishop Spalding. But when he or they attempt to insert a human head between us and the divine Head, we most promptly reject all such interlopers. The learned prelate's argument that a visible body should have a visible head is plausible but not convincing. The kingdom of nature is a visible body without a visible head. The very universe is a visible body with a divine invisible Head.

For the claim set up by Dr. Spalding, and conceded by the Episcopalian Bishop Seymour, that Peter possessed a "primacy" over the other apostles, is questionable. Peter did possess a *seniority* of age, and hence might occasionally speak as *spokesman* for the rest. He possessed also an impulsive over-forwardness which prompted him often to speak in a malapropos style which involved him in blunder and disaster. But, exceptionally we might say, once or twice, he spoke so pertinently for all that Jesus responded to him graciously for all. But no words of Jesus to him conferred such direct personal power over "nations" and "kingdoms" as Jer. i, 10 confers upon Jeremiah. And yet the powers conferred on Jeremiah were not *executive*, but simply *declaratory*, limited to the utterance of God's message to men, and they died with his person. There is nothing to show that Peter's powers were any more executive, or hereditary, or successional.

Dr. Spalding quotes the favorite texts in favor of Peter's popedom, and they are so strikingly inadequate that one wonders that he is not ashamed of the performance. They fail in many respects to affirm the claim; but we may specially note but three, namely: *explicitness*, *universality*, and *successionality*. They fail in *explicitness*, for surely it is preposterous to interpret such phrases as "confirm thy brethren," "feed my lambs," in behalf of a papal power. Any Congregational pastor fulfills the entire meaning of these phrases in his daily duties to his flock. They fail in *universality*, and to quote these words as conferring absolute power over *all future Christendom* is logical beggary. They fail in *successionality*, for not one word in the whole indicates that any such powers were to be transmitted to apostolic successors, any more than the commission to Jeremiah declared a prophetic transmission. And then to bolster up this weakness with the unhistorical "see of Peter" at Rome, is a pretension just on the level of the forged Decretals.

The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version, (A. D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter, Late Preacher at Lincoln's Inn: Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen. New Testament. Vol. iv, Hebrews to Revelation. 8vo, pp. 816. New York: Scribner's Sons.

This great work, both Old Testament and New, is now complete in ten handsome volumes. The fact that two such great commentaries as Schaff's Lange, and this so-called Speaker's Commentary, should be prosecuted without fail or falter to completion by the Scribners is evidence not only of the enterprise of that eminent house, but of the prosperous and triumphing position of our biblical Christianity. Equally against the vaunts and menaces of rationalism and infidelity on one side, and of prelacy and popery on the other, it becomes more and more decisively clear that the sacred canon, in its completeness and its majesty, is going forth as a power and a victory as never before in the history of the world. "The grass withereth and the flower thereof fadeth away, but the WORD *of the Lord endureth forever.*"

The limitation of authorship to the English bishops and clergy has an air of High Church exclusiveness, and creates anticipations of perfunctory performance not verified in the result. The erudition exhibited is creditable to churchly scholarship, and shows the ability of the olden time of the Anglican body to maintain the cause of Christian truth amid bold and rank assault. Rich as the learning is, we are saved from neological extravagances; and the wild vagaries of rampant German speculation are checked and chastened by English solid sense. We are specially gratified with the firm and able maintenance of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews by Dr. Kay, and the Domitianian date of the Apocalypse by Dr. Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin. These able dissertations give hope that the timid submission of our evangelical scholars on these two points will be dismissed, and that their faltering surrender to the pseudo-criticism of arrogant rationalists will be withdrawn. The book of Hebrews is an immovable fortress against the whimsies of Kuenen, Dean Stanley, and Robertson Smith regarding the relations of Mosaicism to Christianity. Dr. Kay's demonstration of the Pauline authorship is specially strong in the department of *Internal Evidences*, arising from an extended and minute comparison of the peculiar words and phrases in Hebrew with Paul's peculiar words and phrases in his other writings. And this is especially

important from the fact that rationalizers have admitted the balance of external evidences to be against them, and imagined that their strength lay in the internal, as Samson's did in his hair. Dr. Kay summarizes his conclusion from his array of internal proofs with the strong terms which we italicize: "Consequently, on internal grounds, it is *nothing less than certain* that St. Paul was the writer." Dr. Kay, however, weakens the force of his argument from the historic testimonies by not separating the ancient testimonies which really testify to the *fact* of Paul's authorship from the mere *opinions* of the ancients, based on the style of the epistle. Rationalistic critics huddle these two together, and thus present a false appearance of force. Origen's opinions as to style were not half so good as Dr. Kay's, for they are based on no ultimate analysis; but Origen's statement of the historic knowledges of his earliest predecessors is decisive. Separating these two classes, the historic from the opiniative, and historic is nearly all on one side.

The authenticity of Second Peter is maintained with great force by Professor Lumly, of Cambridge, leaving by its varied proofs little doubt in a candid mind. Rightly the professor shows the priority of Peter to Jude, the former predicting the apostasies and sensualities of apostates near at hand, Jude describing some foul characters and scenes as already present. We seem at the present day to need to well study these terrible descriptions of depravity, for very similar phenomena are debasing the civilization, and even infecting the Christianity, of our day. How the apostles dealt with these diabolical indecencies St. Jude most vividly shows us. It is time for our preachers to study St. Jude, and our pulpits to reiterate his divine denunciations.

Coming to that grand monument of apostolic inspiration, the Apocalypse, we have a very rich and valuable Introduction by Dr. Lee. The great questions raised by the sharp research of the rationalists are met with a rich erudition, a keen logic, and a calm conservatism, fully alive to all that is good and true in the new. The authorship of the Apocalypse, the place and date of its writing, are momentous questions very easy to settle but for the modern sophistries of a class of critics who, with great scholarship, unwilling to admit inspired prophecy, employ all their powers to make plain things obscure and bring out predetermined conclusions. A full chapter is given to the doctrinal theology of the book. The Symbolical Numbers are discussed with fullness and measurable success; but the writer evidently is

not aware of that principle of symmetry on which the year-day method is founded. Plainly, if a kingdom is reduced to so small a symbol as a beast, the length of the life of a kingdom must be abbreviated in time to fit the duration of a beast. For a beast living 1,260 years is a monstrosity. There must be a time reduction to fit the object reduction. The reluctance he ascribes to the maintainers of the year-day view to apply it to the millennial thousand years we do not admit. The readers of our own commentary will note that we rejoice to adopt that view. We note with pleasure that the word "*souls*," in the twentieth chapter, he maintains to be truly disembodied *spirits*, and he deduces the true anti-chiliastic conclusions that result. We record this with pleasure. For we maintained that view more than thirty years ago in an elaborate exegesis on the chapter in this Review, when no writer, we believe, had ever suggested it; and no commentator so far has yet adopted it except Dr. Lee. We believe it will in due time become the established interpretation.

We wish we had found one more coincidence with our own views in Dr. Lee's notes. We wish that he had recognized the parallelism between chapters i, 10–19; iv, 2; and x, 9, and thereby have deduced the clear fact that John receives three Apocalypses: the first from Christ, the second from God, and the third from the Angel. This would disclose the true structure of the whole book. And then it would be seen that the third Apocalypse is the true consecutive and chronological survey of the spiritual history of the world down to the consummation. That survey (as we have developed in our notes) under symbol of a perpetual war between Jerusalem and Babylon, pictures the world-battle between holy right and worldly wrong, and in each great contest Right is triumphant. Then comes the millennial repose of earthly victory, preluding the final triumph in eternity.

On the whole, these ten volumes are, in our view, the best commentary for the great body of our Christian scholars extant in our language.

The Life Everlasting. What is it? Whence is it? Whose is it? By J. H. Pettingill, A.M. With a Symposium, in which Twenty Representative Men Unite in Expressing their own Views on the Question Discussed by the Author. 8vo, pp. 762. Philadelphia: J. D. Brown. 1882.

Mr. Pettingill seems to be the chief advocate of Conditional Immortality in our country at the present time. He writes with a

good deal of earnestness and sincerity; firmly believing that his view greatly relieves the mind of the Christian public from a great load, and Christianity itself from a great difficulty. He preserves by it the doctrine of irreversible penalty as against the Universalist, and removes the doctrine of divine injustice in refutation of the infidel. His view does undoubtedly disburden many a mind which cannot accept the doctrine of eternal suffering. We, personally, do not feel the same indignant hostility to this method of relief for its class of pious minds as is expressed in the language and action of many orthodox thinkers. Yet it seems tolerably clear that the great body of the Christian public do not take spontaneously to it, even when fully and fairly presented. The relief seems to be only sporadic, and hardly seems to compensate the labor it costs.

The volume would be better if it were smaller. It is the work of a somewhat wordy and redundant writer, and needs the virtue of conciseness. But the argument is fully and clearly presented and possesses considerable clearness and force.

The materialistic character of the theory, as presented in the book, is a heavy weight upon it. Is there a dualism of God and material nature? Then the dualism of spirit and matter is fully authenticated. Consciousness does not identify the thinking I with brain or organism. Almighty power may very closely *unite* thought and matter, but cannot *identify* them. In the "Symposium of the Appendix" Dr. D. H. Chase of Middletown, Conn., assumes to prove the non-existence of a soul from the fact that he has thrice in his life lost his consciousness for a brief period. Perhaps he does so every night. Against those who maintain that ever conscious acting thought is a necessary attribute of soul, his argument is, indeed, experientially conclusive. But, as we noted in our last Quarterly, soul is an agent and thought its action, just as body is an agent and motion its action. A thoughtless soul is parallel with a motionless body. A cessation of consciousness no more proves the non-existence of soul than a cessation of motion proves the non-existence of the body. An absolute and final non-existence of all power of thought in the soul would be a literal death of the soul, parallel with an absolute and final non-existence of all bodily function as death of the body.

The following extract from a lecture delivered by Professor Asa Gray, at Yale, furnishes a solution by a Christian Evolutionist of the problem of Immortality. It presents a "conditional immortality" on close affinity with Mr. Pettingills' theory; and when

evolutionism becomes the universal creed (a *when* we are unable to define) both theories will become identified. "Now see how evolution may help you, in its conception that, while all the lower serves its purpose for the time being, and is a stage toward better and higher, *the lower sooner or later perish*, the higher—the consummate—survive. The soul in its bodily tenement is the final outcome of nature. *May it not well be that the perfected soul alone survives the final struggle of life*, and, indeed, 'then chiefly lives' because in it all worths and ends inhere; because it only is worth immortality, because it alone carries in itself the promise and potentiality of eternal life? Certainly in it only is the potentiality of religion, or that which aspires to immortality."

That is, in both science and theology, the "survival of the fittest." And Greg, the author of the "Creeds of Christendom," suggests that of animals themselves, as many possess a noble moral character, so the noblest survive into a noble immortality. And herein we think it fair to record what the best evolutionists have to say for themselves on the dogma of immortality.

The Book of Enoch. Translated from the Ethiopic, with Introduction and Notes. By Rev. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Ph.D., Professor in Capital University, Columbus, O. 8vo, pp. 278. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

The quotation by Jude of a passage from the Book of Enoch has ever given the book an importance to Christian scholarship; but for centuries it was lost to European Christendom. Abundant references to it as an apocryphal book are found in the works of the Christian fathers down to the destruction of Christian literature by the barbarian invasions. The book remained a mystery until, in 1773, three copies were brought from Abyssinia by Bruce, the traveler, to Europe, and one was deposited in the Bodleian Library. There it lay neglected until 1821, when Laurence, afterward Archbishop of Cashel, issued a translation. Nothing satisfactory was accomplished until so late as 1851, when "the master-hand of A. Dillman" issued an Ethiopic edition, and, two years later, a German translation. The present English translation by Dr. Schodde, a pupil of Franz Delitzsch, to whom the volume is dedicated, issued from the Andover press, will be a very acceptable present to American scholars.

According to Dr. Schodde, after a full mastery of the dis-

cussions among German scholars upon the work, the Book of Enoch is really three books sewed together, written by different authors, at different dates, and upon somewhat different subjects. The first is the Book of Enoch proper, and consists of revelations made to him by angels in an excursion through the heavenly regions. Its object is to explain to the Hebrew people the mystery of God in their sufferings. It relieves the problem by pointing to the coming Messianic age, when a righteous prince, pre-existent before the creation, will set all right. The date Dr. Schodde fixes not far from the Maccabæan era.

The second book, consisting of "Parables," was written, it is supposed, during the reign of Herod the Great, in hostility to that royal house, as being a foreign and untheocratic usurpation. Still more vividly it portrays the coming Messiah as true king of Israel; so vividly, indeed, as to have furnished plausible argument for holding it a post-Christian production. Dr. Schodde, however, maintains that the traits resembling the Messiah of the New Testament found in the book are really drawn from the Old Testament, especially from the book of Daniel, and finished up by Jewish fancy.

The third is a revelation to Noah of the judgment of the flood, bringing it into a sort of parallelism with the judgment of the last day.

The entire Book of Enoch, as our learned translator well remarks, is deeply interesting as furnishing a strong impression of the times of our Saviour and of the spirit of the religious earnestness preceding his day. Dr. Schodde's work is, first, two very satisfactory Introductions, then the translation divided into sections, each section followed with full commentatorial notes. For the first time this ancient set of documents is brought into the English language in easily comprehensible and accurate form for the student and popular reader.

Sermons. By J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., D.D., author of "The Manifesto of the Kingdom." "Abraham," "Prayers for the Household," etc. 12mo, pp. 3[illegible]. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

After reading these Sermons, twenty-six in number, one is not surprised to learn that their author draws crowded audiences around his pulpit in the National Scotch Church, Regent's Square, London. Like his predecessor, the Rev. James Hamilton,

he is a strong, original, independent thinker, with very decided idiosyncrasies. In this volume he treats various topics, ranging from "The doctrine of the Trinity practically considered" to "Consider the lilies," but discloses equal ability and clearness in the discussion of all. His method of treating his themes is characteristic, consisting not in dull elaboration of their minor commonplaces, but in discussions and applications of the principles they involve. His insight into the depth and sweep of those principles is such as to make his thoughts luminous and to impress them with convincing force on the reader's mind. His style, though occasionally abrupt and even careless, is vigorous, unconventional, and sufficiently rhetorical. His pages abound in happy turns of thought and in fine sentiments tersely expressed. The theology and spirit of these discourses are thoroughly evangelical. They are suggestive, and healthfully stimulating to the spiritual life. Dr. Dykes has a most lively faith in the supernatural side of the Gospel, and in the divine power which attends its forcible declaration, regarding it as "a fact come down from heaven which claims acceptance rather than courts criticism. Being God's message it asserts itself to faith, does not appeal to reason. It is a direct voice, from Him who made them, to the universal conscience and heart of men. . . . . Thank God, it does not shun to ally itself with the last results of thought or research, being, as it is, queen of all truth, served by all. Thank God, also, it needs no such alliance, for in its own easiest form apprehensible by a child or a simpleton, it is as complete as ever and as mighty—Christ crucified, the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation."

Abbott's Young Christian. A Memorial Edition, with a Sketch of the Author by One of his Sons. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 131, 402. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Abbott's Young Christian is so familiarly known to Christian readers, and so generally recognized as a classic among books belonging to our practical religious literature, that its commendation in these pages would be deemed by many a work of supererogation. It needs no higher praise than the fact that it has been spiritually helpful to very many youthful disciples of the Christ, both in America and other lands. This new edition of what is probably Abbott's best and most valued book contains a modest sketch of its deceased author, which is a simple memorial

of filial affection by one of his sons. It briefly records the leading events in his active, though not especially eventful, life. He appears to have been a successful educator; his literary industry would seem excessive, but for the fact that it did not injuriously affect his health. He was exclusively the author of one hundred and eighty volumes, and editor or joint author of thirty-one others. One secret of his perfect health under unceasing literary work is found in the fact that "he was placid in the midst of commotion; kept ahead of his obligations, and so was never driven by them; walked, spoke, acted with deliberation, and never worried. . . The current of his life was deep, calm, and steady." The spirit which pervades his strictly religious works was the outflowing of "his deep faith in the unspeakable peace which Christ affords to the soul burdened by a sense of its past sins, and his strong conviction that faith transcends expression. . . He lived and died in the Congregational communion, but he belonged to the Church universal, the unbounded communion of saints."

Covenant Names and Privileges. By Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., author of "The King's Highway," "Nature's Wonders," etc. 12mo, pp. 374. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Dr. Newton is favorably known as a writer of books for the young and for the edification of devout minds. In this volume he fully sustains his reputation. It contains twenty sermons, six on "God's Covenant Names" and fourteen on "Christian Privileges." While these discourses are neither profound nor marked by original thought, they are vivacious, practical, spiritual, and adapted to the needs of such as are seeking "to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord." In the main, their theology is sound; albeit in one or two passages the author writes as though he "leaned too much toward Calvinism." Hence we find him saying, "the soul once justified is fully justified, and *justified forever*," a sentence which implies his unscriptural belief in the impossibility of falling from grace. Again, in a laudable attempt to exalt the grace of God, he impeaches his justice by affirming that the "honor of God's name would not have been tarnished, nor the integrity of his righteous government compromised, if he had stood aloof when man sinned, and had allowed the race of men, as he did the race of angels, to go on and meet the everlasting consequence of their transgressions." This sentiment partakes of that Calvinis-

tically exaggerated view of Divine Sovereignty which seeks to make it consistent with infinite injustice to helpless men; between whom and the race of angels there is no such analogy as Dr. Newton assumes. The good Doctor might have hesitated to pen this sentence had he weighed the remark of the profound Butler, who says: "Perhaps the inquiry, What would have followed if God had not done as he has, may have in it some very great impropriety." Nevertheless, with these and one or two other exceptions, we cheerfully indorse the opinion of a layman, as printed in the preface, to wit, that these sermons are "plain, short, lively, readable, and above all true to the Word of God."

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Greek: being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most Ancient Authorities and revised A.D. 1881.——The Revision of 1881 compared with the Version of 1611: showing at a Glance what is common to both, and, by Diacritical Marks and Foot-notes, what is peculiar to each. By RUFUS WENDELL, Minister of the Gospel. Royal 8vo, pp. 616. Albany, N. Y.: Rufus Wendell. 1882.

Mr. Wendell has here built a very convenient bridge for passing over from the old to the new version. You have them in this volume both under your eye on the same page. He gives as the full-page text the Revised Version; and under the words that differ from the old version he draws a line, and places the old words at the foot margin. In giving the place of honor to the new, in spite of those who may say "the old is better," Mr. Wendell seems to anticipate its future acceptance by our English-speaking Christendom.

By a number of diacritical marks he answers at a stroke a number of critical questions in regard to the new text. The work of comparing the two versions in separate volumes would be decidedly perplexing, and most persons would omit the task. But with this compromise the work is easy and will be often done, not only by critical scholars, but by preachers who care to investigate the text they expound in the pulpit, and even by the popular reader. Indeed, few Bible readers but would find it a desideratum to have both texts at command. This, in fact, opens a new interest in the New Testament. We believe it will be found a work of rare accuracy. The type, paper, and execution are of high order. The numerical tables at the end indicate the great value placed by the author on the gold dust of the sacred word even in its English dialect. We may safely and heartily recommend this valuable work to a wide acceptance.

The Decay of Modern Preaching. An Essay by J. P. MAHAFFY. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

"Thank God that's a lie!" ejaculated a good lady when she heard a slander upon her pastor. She was not polite, but logical. She was not thankful that the slander was uttered, but that when uttered it was no better than a slander. And thankful are we in the assurance that Professor Mahaffy's assumption of the "decay of modern preaching" is a fiction. We think that none but an unsound mind that imagines that our great preachers would have been more influential men in their day had they been lawyers—that is, lawyers not additionally *statesmen.* What mere lawyer of England sways public thought more powerfully than Liddon, Spurgeon, or Farrar? What lawyer of America overtops Beecher, or John Hall, or Bishop Simpson? What cause is moving forward to victory more powerfully than our evangelical Christianity? Yet the learned and eloquent professor has written a book full of suggestions well worthy of the perusal of pastor and people. He well describes the new rivalries the pulpit is obliged to encounter in these latter days, and makes valuable methods and cautions how to meet or evade them. His sentences and paragraphs, with wide spaces and margins, roll over the white pages with a true Celtic vivacity.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

What is Darwinism? By CHARLES HODGE, Princeton, N. J. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

The entombment of Mr. Darwin in Westminster Abbey has awakened a very triumphant chattering among the enthusiastic claimants to a lineal descent from the "old world apes." When Wesley's monument was placed in that illustrious abbey we never heard that Wesleyans claimed that England had become Methodist. Men of common sense generally recognized that England, largely differing from Wesley in his specialties of view, acknowledged, nevertheless, greatnesses in his character that she was proud to honor. But somehow these worshipers of the dead scientist are exultant and blatant with the nitrous-oxide illusion that his honored entombment proves that England has resolved herself into a very unanimous monkeydom. They thus bring

dishonor upon his memory; both by the arrogance of their exacting demands upon our reverence for the deceased, and by compelling an emphasis upon those points that very seriously detract from his reputation. At the same time they expose their own egregious meanness. For the calm scientism that finds itself obliged to acknowledge that man was not, as Moses sublimely says, inaugurated as a new being "in the image of God," but that he gradually emerged from lower to higher brute, we have a decent respect. But these brutal vociferators that glory in that humiliation, and that open their onslaughts upon the deniers of this brutalism, deserve the contempt of the human race. And it is to the honor of the Christian clergy that they, as being the sublime assertors of man's origin and nature, are the special objects of these assaults. Now that Mr. Darwin has attained his "apotheosis," as they please to style it, they push the taunting query: What do the clergy have to say for themselves? And they assign pretended answers to some leading clergymen, just as if the poor clergy felt themselves chopfallen and disgraced, when in fact the disgrace all belongs to the blatancy of the brutalists themselves.

And this brings up the query propounded by Dr. Hodge's able little volume. We noticed the book at its first appearance, and we now call it forth again, to reaffirm its positions, to recommend it to public attention, and to do honor to that eminent theologian for its bold and truthful utterances. The query is: *What is* Darwinism? This differs from the question, What is *evolution?* Evolution, as Dr. Winchell, (quoted in our "Synopsis of Quarterlies,") well says, is not identified with one man. Nor is it an inquiry as to the various discoveries made by the rare genius of Mr. Darwin, and for which we rejoice to do him honor. Taken in that sense, as it might well be, Darwinism is a grand word. But the folly of Mr. Darwin's worshipers compels us, as it compelled Dr. Hodge, to take it for the present in its narrower meaning, as designating simply those special points in which Mr. Darwin and his intense co-thinkers are distinguished from other classes of evolutionists. They are two: 1. *Our human descent from monkeys.* Darwin says: "The Simiadæ are divided into two groups—the Old World monkeys and the New World monkeys." "Man unquestionably belongs to the Catarrhine or Old World monkeys." And thence follows the following lovely picture: "Man is descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old

World." 2. *Natural and unteleological selection.* The variations of man from primitive monkey, as Darwin maintains, arise not from design nor "special creation" but from unintelligent causations, and are preserved and perpetuated by surrounding incidental environments. So that even in so wonderful a product as the human eye no designing causation can be recognized. These are the two points which specialize Darwinism. And when we speak in this notice of distinctive Darwinism we must be understood to speak not of those discoveries which constitute his title to renown among men, but of these two brutalistic and atheistic dogmas for which we pay him no honor whatever.

Notable among the manifestoes of the professed Simiadæ is the narrative of Mr. Darwin's funeral by the correspondent of the New York "Tribune," who signs himself G. W. S. He stands at the funeral ceremony to spot every heretic to his own high Simian faith. The unbelievers in their own brutalistic heredity are indeed complimented for being present, though it is "a token of defeat." He has not the intelligence to perceive that there is not a clergyman, nor a Methodist preacher, nor a scholar, in England that cannot consistently and heartily honor Mr. Darwin for his real discoveries in science, without the least indorsement of his brutalistic or atheistic elements. The so-called "defeat" is simply a maggot in the writer's own undeveloped cerebrum. The following passage is a specially unscrupulous statement: "It is is not twenty years since divines of the Church of England anathematized Darwin as a heretic—to use no harsher term. Her advocates said then what a Roman Catholic advocate has said since Darwin's death—that a man capable of inventing a theory that led straight to atheism must be knave or fool or both. The relative intelligence of the devotees of the two Churches—of Rome and of England—may be measured by the breadth of their divergence to-day on this point." In contradiction to these absurd mendacities it is sufficient to place the following testimony, written by a personal friend and follower of Darwin residing in England, and published in the "Nation." Speaking very truly of Mr. Darwin's candor and equanimity, the writer adds: "It was largely for this reason that so little of that invective and obloquy which is apt to be poured on those who first propound doctrines inconsistent with the prevailing theological views was directed against or incurred by him. . . . *Nobody attacked him,* and his name was scarcely mentioned, except by

the comic papers, when they humorously placed his striking head, caricatured, of course, on the body of an ape."

All these slanders can be borne from the character of the source that produces them. But it is more deeply humiliating to note that a professedly Christian paper, the "Independent," in a late article headed DARWIN, pours out upon the Christian Church and ministry a series of assaults far more reckless, and with a still more appalling inaccuracy of statement. Sentences pervade that article like these, (the italics and capitals are ours:) "The attitude of the Church toward him, more hostile than suspicious, is *an occasion of deep mortification.*" "No man of the age was so feared and HATED by the large body of Christian teachers, we will not say by all, as was Darwin." "But the attitude of a great mass of religious dogmatism to this new philosophy has been no less than *scandalous.*" "Those who CURSED it in the name of the Lord are now beginning to fear that their CURSES will come home to roost." "Their *notions* of the interpretation of the obscure part of the Bible." "Special creations." Now to all this we respond that our editorial life runs far back of the present corps of "Independent" editors; that we have had under our survey a large share of the religious, and especially the Methodist, periodicals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, from before the time of Darwin's first volume upon "Species;" that our interest on the subject, as our readers know, up to our last Quarterly, has been deep and outspoken; and we affirm that every one of the above allegations is flagrantly mistaken. The tone and temper of ministry and Church are not matter of "mortification," but of pride and self-gratulation; Darwin has never been "*hated*," though his brutalistic pseudo-science and his denial of teleology have been and still are reprobated; and the "attitude of religious dogmatism" against the base "philosophy" founded on special Darwinism has been that of firm maintenance of the existence of God and the divine dignity of man. That atheistic philosophy we do "curse in the name of the Lord," as breeding much of the atheism, pessimism, blasphemy, and sensualization that have grown rampant since the publication of his special dogmas. During the whole of the period described, the tone of the religious press has been delicate and courteous toward Darwin's personal character, has eulogized his truly scientific productions and promulgations, has admitted all that was demonstrated, has sought to reconcile where there seemed a real issue between science and religion, but has stood

firm against those errors that bestialize man and undeify God. The Church does not admit that Genesis is a falsehood and Adam a myth; and that man is an overgrown monkey destitute of the image of God, and with a shadowy prospect for immortality. The Church does not admit that God breathed life into a few primordial particles and then left the futurity of the world's life to luck and chance. All honor to the Church for her firm, magnanimous stand for the vital truths of our humanity. If a few apostates make that base surrender, and "curse" the Church in the power of Satan for her courage, the reflex "curse" will not return upon her, but may find a permanent "roost" perhaps even in the sanctum of the "Independent."

Soon after the publication of Darwin's book on "Species," the great Quarterly Reviews of England, nearly every one of them, came out with articles adverse to its theory on scientific grounds, which remain unrefuted to this day. Why not issue a tirade against all these scientific opponents, charging them with "hate" of Darwin? Why these diatribes against the Church alone? Down as late as 1870, Appleton's Cyclopedia tells us that by a share of scientific men "Darwin's views are denounced as unfounded and absurd." Why does not the "Independent" launch a reflex curse upon their heads? Our own humble Quarterly immediately "book-noticed" Darwin's first volume, (previous to his book on Man,) respectfully stating its positions, and then giving a few objections upon points we had penciled, based on scientific grounds. It was a year or two after, we think, that we gave a brief exegesis of the Mosaic account of man's creation, professing to show that a Darwinist need not reject Moses. When Mivart's "Genesis of Species" came out we reviewed that book with approbation as revealing an evolution without the dogmas of special Darwinism. We called attention to the points that he fully disproved the theory of mere "natural selection" by its irreconcilability with geological chronology; that he removed the anti-teleology and thereby the Darwinian taint of Atheism; that he showed how a true view of human soul and spirit brought it so into accord with Mosaicism that even the Roman Catholic Church left his views uninterdicted. They were evolution but not Darwinism. In our very last Quarterly we endeavored to show at great length that the unbroken series of life could not be proved; that new Originations of life-forms were even authenticated by Darwin's own admission of a first Origination; and by the stupendous intervals and instaurations revealed

by the geologic record. Darwin personally, and the brilliant productions of his scientific genius, have never been treated by us with disrespect; and the same fact our entire recollections for twenty years past affirm of the course of the religious press in general. The "Independent's" charges, we believe, would be totally contradicted could there be a full review of the actual record.

With a curious infelicity the "Independent" writer selects the late Dr. Hodge as an eminent and crucial instance of theological hatred of Darwin. He tells us that, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, Dr. Hodge "read a paper" maintaining the thesis that "Darwinism is atheism;" in which statement there are but two mistakes, for Dr. Hodge did not so "read a paper," and he never affirmed the proposition that "Darwinism is atheism." After that meeting Dr. Hodge published the book which we then noticed, and now notice again; in which he told truly and unanswerably what Darwinism is, showing by manifold demonstration that Darwin, although personally a theist, did nevertheless repudiate teleology, breaking down thereby the foundations of theism in the minds of the masses of mankind.

Says Dr. Hodge: "It would be absurd to say any thing disrespectful of such a man as Mr. Darwin, and scarcely less absurd to indulge in any mere extravagance of language," (p. 60,) and the "Independent" might safely, we think, be invited to point out the first disrespectful word. Dr. Hodge gives a fair statement of Darwin's "Theory," (p. 26.) He admits "Mr. Darwin a theist," (p. 48.) "Mr. Darwin is not a Monist." "Neither is he a materialist, inasmuch as he assumes a supernatural origin for the infinitesimal modicum of life and intelligence in the primordial animalcule." "A man may be an evolutionist without being a Darwinian," (p. 50.) Yet "his whole book is an argument against teleology." He shows this at length by unfolding Darwin's elaborate reasonings against design in nature as confessedly destructive to his theory. He confirms this view by the testimony of the most pronounced atheists in Europe, such as Haeckel, Carl Vogt, Büchner, and Strauss. And he might have added at the present time that there is probably not an intelligent atheist in Christendom who does not claim Darwinism as the clincher to his argument. It is an awful bigotry, in the view of G. W. S. and the "Independent," for bishops and other ministers to say that Darwinism is atheistic in tendency; but what have they to say to the unanimous testimony of all the atheists

in Christendom, from Robert Ingersoll downward, to the same appalling fact? Dr. Hodge does not say that "Darwinism is atheism;" but he does repeat, under due explanations, Dr. Asa Gray's dictum, that "Darwinism is tantamount to atheism," namely, by its anti-teleology. And that fact, honorable to Darwin or not, stands as firm as Gibraltar. The "Independent" thinks that the Princeton professors would not now "dare" to say what Dr. Hodge said. We have no measurement of the *daring* of the Princeton men; but we think it would require no immense courage to say what we now say, that Dr. Hodge's spirit is courteous, his statements accurate, his logic conclusive; and that the book does honor to the great Calvinist.

The "Independent" speaks quite contemptuously of certain "*notions*" held by the clergy and contradicted by Darwinism. We may perhaps safely assume that among these "notions" are the "special creation" and personal existence of Adam; the Fall of Man; the Messianic genealogy of Luke; and the parallel between the personal Adam and the personal Christ of Paul's Romans. These "notions" have had some momentous interest to the Church of all ages. They come from the Church of the Old Testament, they are embodied in the New Testament, they have been held fundamental by the whole Christianity of the past—these "notions." And we deeply suspect that should the "Independent" make the logical deductions from the premises it lays down, all the great truths of Christianity will have to be flung into the same basket of cast-off "*notions*." The "Independent" is a good Christian by being a bad logician. For with what consistency can a reasoner scout the idea of "special creation" and then tamely accept a "special" *incarnation* and a "special" resurrection of the Incarnate? And then where is the Christianity? In the basket of "notions." Darwinism is not only anti-teleological but anti-miraculous. As Dr. Hodge proves, it is claimed by Strauss to be the immortal merit of Darwin that he has shown the non-necessity of miracles. The dogmas of the "Independent," however unintentionally, are about as contradictory to the New Testament as the Old; as contradictory to the Incarnation as to the special creation; about as stout a denial of Christ as of Adam.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Making of England. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. With maps. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

In this volume Mr. Green gives the history of Anglo-Saxon England up to the conquest of Northumbria by Egberht in 829, when all the Teutonic tribes in England were united under one ruler. His method in this is the same as in his other and larger work. He aims to combine with a narrative of the events a graphic picture of society and government; to give, as he phrases it in his preface, a living portraiture of the times. But the period is one not well adapted to that method of treatment, at once picturesque and philosophical, which has given to the author's "History of the English People" such wide and well-deserved popularity. The Anglo-Saxon conquest was nothing but a succession of incursions by rude bands of predatory semi-barbarians, who succeeded, after a struggle of centuries, in which every inch was contested, in forcing back to the fastnesses of mountain and forest another race of semi-barbarians a little less rude and a little less strong than themselves. The record of such a struggle hardly rises to the dignity of history; nor can it be very interesting, even though the conquering tribes were our forefathers. The historical data for the whole period covered by this volume are extremely meager, and for the fifth and sixth centuries almost entirely wanting. The "Epistola" of Gildas, the earliest authority, and the only one on the side of the conquered, cannot have been written earlier than 550; and the "History" of Baeda was written more than a hundred years later. Of the few names to which myth or tradition has given prominence in the earliest centuries of the English occupation, nothing is really known. All that interest which comes from the personal influence of great men, from the play of individual character, must be wanting to such a history. How great a loss this is to a historian like Mr. Green one may easily understand when he remembers how largely the interest of the "History of the English People" is owing to that series of brilliant portraits—Elizabeth, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, Charles, father and son, and the rest—that enliven its pages. The highest art of the historian can never make the struggles of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, as a mere series of events, any thing better to most readers than what they were to Milton—"battles of kites and crows."

It is, however, a much more interesting, as well as more important, study to attempt to discover in these rough invaders the germs of English national character, and to trace in their crude laws and customs the origin of English social and political institutions. And it is this, more particularly, that Mr. Green wishes to do. But even in this there is little room for the exercise of those qualities that have most distinguished him as a historian. The facts are so scanty, the glimpses of the old life so broken and transitory, the inferences of historical conjecture often so doubtful, that there is little opportunity to construct a picturesque narrative. From the few facts accessible it is hardly possible to reproduce the life of our first English ancestors in the vivid colors of reality.

Mr. Green, however, has done all that it was possible to do under the limitations of his subject. His narrative is certainly the first account of the Anglo-Saxon invasion at once clear, accurate, and to a certain degree popular. It contains perhaps little that is new; but the facts have never been so well told before. One source of information, moreover, Mr. Green has been the first to make much use of: the influence of the physical geography of Britain upon the course of the English conquest, and the history immediately following has never been so clearly shown as in this volume.

The most interesting chapter of the book is the fourth, in which the author discusses the relations of the conquering Anglo-Saxons to the conquered Britons, and the character of the early English civilization. He shows clearly—what, indeed, has not been doubted in recent years—that the Britons were not generally slaughtered, but slowly driven back and displaced by the invaders. In his account of the English folk and of the English township, in which lay the seeds of all future English political society, the author follows closely the researches of Stubbs, as, indeed, for the future, all writers inevitably must. But here, again, it is to be said that the facts established by the study of the past thirty years have never before been so effectively grouped within the compass of half a hundred pages. There is the same insight into the significance of particular events, the same grasp of facts and power of combining them, the same occasional felicity of conjecture, and the same luminous and forcible style that we have learned to admire in Mr. Green's other work. In dealing with the early ecclesiastical history he is, perhaps, not quite so fortunate. The type of Christianity in

England, between the seventh and ninth centuries, the influence of the clergy and of the Churchly ideas of social organization, the rise of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries—these are among the most important factors in the making of England; but in his attempt to gather from the troublous history of that time a clear estimate of their value, the author, it seems to us, has not been quite so successful as in his treatment of the political and civil institutions. There are, however, passages of rare excellence in his discussions upon these subjects. In point of mere style, Mr. Green has never written any thing better than the description of Whitby and the pathetic account of the character and the last days of Baeda.

The book, as a whole, must take its place as the best popular history of the period which it covers. Any lack of interest in it is the fault of the history and not of the historian. It is to be hoped that the health of the author will enable him to complete the additional volume upon which it is understood he is at present engaged. This will bring the narrative down to the Norman Conquest. C. T. W.

Autobiography of the Rev. Luther Lee, D.D. 12mo, pp. 345. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

Luther Lee's narrative is decidedly outside of the mere routine of Methodist preachers' biographies. Born in Schoharie, N. Y., more than eighty years ago, amid surrounding vice and ignorance, he learned his alphabet in the absence of books by letters cut on a shingle by his elder brother. He was at length promoted to the "American Spelling-Book," and even aspired, under the ridicule of his friends, to one day study grammar. As if providentially there did a Murray's grammar come into that region, which he bought for three days' manual labor. Being converted and then a sort of preacher, he was admitted as probationer to Conference. He learned, some weeks after Conference, from a "Christian Advocate" that he was appointed to Malone Circuit, a place he had never heard of. Memorable and funny is his narrative of his travels, adventures, and successes, in search of Malone Circuit. He had in Malone Circuit rare opportunities for enduring hardness as a good soldier. Nature had given him a remarkable intellectual muscle, and Malone Circuit trained him into a practical unshrinking stalwart. When he went to Conference he found the preachers anxious about their appointments, while he was

calm in the sweet assurance of being sent to the toughest battle-field in the Hardscrabble regions. And what manhood grew on this rugged discipline! Why should he who had nothing to lose fear to fight sin, heresy, and the devil? Calvinism, Universalism, and Unitarianism, shrunk before his solid logic in plain, terse, nervous language. He wrote controversial books (we read them in our young manhood) which in compact reasoning, free from all flower and fancy, remind one of Jonathan Edwards. All this "propædeutik" was prolusive to the great battle which was to try his high moral pluck and find it not wanting. When the slavery question arose, a question not merely of heresy and orthodoxy, in which his feelings were all accordant with his antecedents and dearest connections, but a question of right and wrong, forcing him to break with his past history and associations, he had braved too many crises to shrink from the path of adventurous truth and honesty. He placed himself on the ground of the *absolute* right in opposition to that compromise with great organic wrong which has often to be submitted to by the Christian Church in a corrupt world, but which in this case would have been a fatal submission. Through that whole moral war he seemed to feel exultantly that every fight was a victory. He led the secession from the Church of his love because she wavered in the battle for the right. He became a theological dignitary. A degree of Doctor of Divinity from Middlebury College, a Calvinistic and New England institution, lighted down upon his head with an unsolicited, unexpected suddenness honorable to both parties. The eventful years of civil war made him permanently victor, giving him an emancipated country and restoring him in honor to his own Church. Let every true son of the Church give honor to this noble veteran in his evening of life by purchasing his volume, and reading his story as a lesson of high-toned rectitude.

Bentley. By R. C. Jebb, M.A., LL.D., Edinburgh Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers 1882.

The greatness of Richard Bentley is not of the "popular" sort, yet this brief biography, containing much information not hitherto published, will be a very acceptable present to classical and New Testament scholars. His masterpiece, the "Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris," written at his thirty-seventh year of age, vanquished the best classical scholarship of

Cambridge. Professor Jebb shows indeed that the tradition that his overwhelming victory was universally acknowledged at the time must be somewhat modified. The wits and popular *literati* still remained on the adverse side; but the scholars of England and Europe realized the immensity of his erudition and the sweeping conclusiveness of his logic. It has long been a settled faith that this Dissertation, essentially accidental as it was, and extorted from him in self-defense, marked an epoch. His manly frame was instinct with a Herculean vigor equal to any labor, and his powerful intellect reeked itself upon accurate research, voluminous study, and masterly reasoning. He was the hero of many an intellectual fight. His firm grasp of subjects made him very positive of his opinions; and though we may believe that truth and right were the object of his strife, yet he had no great objection to the process of driving his opponent out of the field. Of him a Niebuhr could say that he was "a giant among a generation of dwarfs." At the same time he had human littlenesses enough to console us for our own littleness. What is the use of being a great—a very great—man?

Ruth the Moabitess, the Ancestress of our Lord. By Ross C. Houghton, D.D., author of "Women of the Orient," "At the Threshold," etc. 12mo, pp. 365. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Few readers of the Bible can peruse the book of Ruth without feeling the charm of its idyllic beauty, and paying a tribute of admiration to the memory of the artless, affectionate, virtuous maiden whose name it embalms. Very evidently Dr. Houghton is enamored with the simple loveliness of her character, since he here portrays it with enthusiastic fidelity, and with an ardent painstaking which has brought together from many and varied sources every thing necessary to illustrate the times in which Ruth lived, the scenes in which she moved, and the characters with whom she associated. Hence we have a history of Bethlehem, the birthplace of her mother-in-law and of her husbands; some capital topographical descriptions of the route from that city to Moab, with graphic pictures of the latter land, of which Ruth was a native. The story of his heroine's love for Naomi, and of her decision to accompany her to Bethlehem, and to adopt her religion, is effectively related, as is also that of the incidents which led to her marriage with the noble-minded Boaz. To make his work complete, our author has made his heroine's

conduct and character the text of sundry practical lessons of life which may be read with profit, especially by young people, for whose benefit they appear to be introduced. Thus in this volume we have the "Rose of Moab," as Ruth has been called by a poet, placed like a beautiful picture in a frame suitably adorned, and fitted to bring out its distinctive excellencies before the spectator's eyes. Dr. Houghton wields a vigorous pen.

Educational.

A Manual of Historical Literature: Comprising Brief Descriptions of the most important Histories in English, French, and German, together with Practical Suggestions as to Methods and Courses of Historical Study. For the use of Students, General Readers, and Collectors of Books. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D. New York, Harper & Brothers. 1882.

"What histories shall I read with most profit? What historical books shall I put into the hands of my son and my daughter? What course and what methods will be most advantageous to our historical club? What histories shall we buy for our town and college libraries? What shall I buy for my own library?"

Professor Adams' excellent book is an answer to these questions quoted from the opening paragraph of its preface. And, so far as we know, it is the only book in English that *does* answer them. Without pretending to give an exhaustive bibliography of history, the author has brought together, in classified lists, the titles of about one thousand of the best books upon ancient and modern history. These lists are arranged by countries and periods, and are quite full enough to serve the purposes of all students save those who wish to make extended researches for themselves into the original materials of history. The lists upon the smaller nationalities of Europe and that upon the Political and Constitutional History of England seem to us especially judicious and valuable.

But the book does much more than give well-arranged lists of historical authorities. The title of every book is accompanied by at least one brief critical and descriptive paragraph, indicating its method, its characteristic excellences and defects, and the comparative value of different editions when there are more than one. It is not easy to give in a dozen lines such an estimate of the character and value of a book as shall be of

much value to readers; Professor Adams has succeeded in a very remarkable degree. These thousand judgments are pointed and discriminating; in almost every instance they tell the student just what he needs to know. They evince not only a very wide reading, but a clear practical judgment and a rare power of terse, summary statement. The paragraphs, for example, on Pepys' "Diary," on Carlyle's "French Revolution," and on Mommsen's "Rome," are models of brief and judicious criticism. Only now and then do we find an opinion that seems to be taken at second hand, or after but slight examination of the work described. It is not easy to see, for one instance, why John Hill Burton's rambling "History of the Reign of Queen Anne" should receive such high praise.

Each chapter of the book, after the introductory one, is divided into two parts. The first part contains the descriptive lists just mentioned; in the second, the author gives hints as to the use of the books named, suggests those best adapted to a short and to a longer course of reading, and closes each chapter with references, often very copious, to other matter illustrating the history of the period under discussion—public documents, historical biography, critical essays and magazine articles, historical novels. Many works of great and well-known value which one might have expected to meet in the author's classified lists, are grouped together here, such as the essays of Macaulay and Carlyle, and John Morley's studies on the French history of the eighteenth century. These "Suggestions to Readers and Students" are, perhaps, the best part of the book. They are evidently the fruit of a long experience in the teaching of history and an intimate practical acquaintance with the wants of such a class of readers as frequent a college library. The section on the history of the United States is much fuller than the others, and is by far the best guide now accessible to readers of our history.

The introductory chapter is an able essay upon the importance of the study of history and the ways in which it should be pursued. The index, upon which the value of such a book so largely depends, is carefully prepared and accurate; but, although it now fills thirty pages, it should be enlarged sufficiently to include all the titles of that large number of illustrative works mentioned in the last section of every chapter. These seem to have been capriciously included or omitted. We noted among those left out these titles, taken at random, to all which at least important

incidental reference is made in the body of the work: John Morley's "Voltaire," "Rousseau," "Diderot;" Luttrell's "Diary;" Baxter's autobiography; Sir William Temple's works; Klackzo's "Two Chancellors;" Dixon's "Free Russia."

But the volume presents few points for criticism. A more useful book has not lately appeared. Such a one years ago would have saved many of us weary hours of searching, and saved, too, what was worse, weary hours of reading which was worthless after all. It would be curious to know how many, like the writer, have to remember the chagrin with which, after going through, in their boyhood, with the four volumes of Rollin's "Ancient History," they learned that the book was rubbish. But such a book as this of Professor Adams could hardly have been prepared twenty years ago. It is only one of the many signs of the remarkable improvement, within a few years, in the methods of studying history as well as in the methods of writing it. This recent increase of interest in historical studies is, in reality, quite as important a phase of the intellectual activity of our time as the scientific movement of which so much has been said. C. T. W.

Literature and Fiction.

An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By Rev. Walter W. Skeats, M.A., Elvington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 799. Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press. For Macmillan & Co. New York, 1882.

A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By Rev. Walter W. Skeats, M.A., Elvington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 616. New York: Harper & Bros.

Comparative philology is pouring its amazing wealth of discovery into dictionaries. It has already transformed them into almost new things, and the transformation is not half finished. The fountains of Aryan speech have been opened and have made an epoch. Then the laws of changes from language to language have been developed, and investigators have been surprised at the large degree in which the apparently chance transitions from speech to speech have been made with all the uniformity of law. The languages of Europe are investigated to ascertain affinities. The progress of each language from age to

age must be chronologically traced. But as their records are obscure and difficult of access, associations are formed for printing old documents, and enthusiastic scholars are too happy in passing their years in poring over these remains of obsolete or obsolescent speech. Then comes first your dictionary for exact analytical definition of the meaning of the word you see or use, and Webster led the way in this work splendidly. Then we have a chronological dictionary, like Richardson, in which the definition is subordinate, but the nature of the word is disclosed by sentences quoted in which it is used by authors through successive centuries in order. Then comes the etymological dictionary, like this of the learned and faithful Cambridge professor, in which, as nearly as possible, the birth, relationships, career, present status, and perhaps death of a word are traced. A word seems born in the Aryan age. It may be traced down to our to-day's English, through perhaps Greek, Latin, French, ancient English, thence through varying fortunes down to our hodiernal lips. We have the biography of a word, forming a little narrative; yet often so tangled a narrative as to require some concise discussion.

Professor Skeats has in the present volume gone through an elaborate and very difficult process, and made a very decided step in advance of all predecessors in presenting the detailed life of English words. The volume, though a valuable acquisition for the scholar in English, is tributary to a great comprehensive dictionary, embodying all the objects of a complete work, now in preparation by the English Philological Society, which he hopes, under the presidency of Dr. Murray will soon commence publication.

We quote the following definition of a word in which Americans have some special interest, as a specimen of Professor Skeats' methods, and for the sake of interposing a query as to the accuracy of his decision.

YANKEE: We also find Low German *jokkern*, to keep walking about, certainly connected with Dutch *jagen* and *jacht*. Also Norw. *janka*, to totter, belonging to the same set of words. I have now little doubt that *yankee* is connected with these words, and not with *English* nor with Dutch *yankin*, both obviously guesses, and not good guesses. In his Supplem. Glossary, Davies quotes: "Proceed in thy story in a direct course, without yawing like a Dutch *Yanky*;" Smollett, Sir L. Greaves, chap. iii. Davies explains *yanky* as meaning a "species of ship," I do not know on what authority. If right, it goes to show that *yanky*, in this instance, is much the same as *yacht*. I conclude that *yanky* or *yankee* orig. meant "quick-moving," hence active, smart, spry, etc.; and that it is from the verb *yank*, to jerk, which is a nasalized form from Du. and G. *jagen*, to move quickly, chase, hunt, etc., cf. Icel. *jaga*, to move to and fro, like a door on its hinges, Swed. *jaga*, Dan. *jage*, to

chase, hunt. The Dan. *jage* is a strong verb with pt. t. *jog*. The verb *to yank* meaning to "jerk," was carried from the north of England to America, where Mr. Buckland heard it used in 1871, and thought "we ought to introduce it into the country;" quite forgetting whence it came. In his Logbook of a Fisherman and Naturalist, 1876, p. 129, he gives the following verses, "composed by one Grundy Cuff:" "A grasshopper sat on a sweet-potato vine, Sweet-potato vine, A big wild turkey came running up behin', And *yanked* the poor grasshopper Off the sweet-potato vine, The sweet-potato vine."

We think very few Americans will for a moment believe that the term *Yankee* for a New Englander came from the verb to *yank*. That verb we presume is known to most of our readers as a syllable sometimes uttered in a lower style of conversation, with a sense of its hardly being entitled to the dignity of a *word* in the language. It seems to possess a slight onomatopœic quality; its brevity and uncouthness somehow representing the quickness and roughness with which something is pulled, or, as it might otherwise be expressed, "snaked" out of your hands. If this word became "Yankee" it must have been by the act of the New Englanders themselves, and yet it was so little recognized there that Webster's dictionary does not know it. It is not conceivable that it should have obtained currency, consciously or unconsciously, as a popular denomination. On the other hand, the Indian attempt at pronouncing "English" might easily run from the border line and become popularly current in the center of population until it became fixed.

The second book in our rubric is an abridgment by the author of the larger work, as an accurate and handy manual for those who are satisfied with net results without going through the processes by which they are attained.

Miscellaneous.

Money-making for Ladies. By ELLA RODMAN CHURCH. Square 18mo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A lively little book, suggesting to women of limited means various methods by which they may increase their scanty incomes. To some its hints and facts may be beneficial; to others it will prove misleading, inasmuch as its writer generalizes too broadly from isolated and exceptional facts. Because one woman succeeds in this or that enterprise it does not follow that others will, or even may. There is a vast difference in women and in the circum-

stances which surround them. We, therefore, recommend all women of the class addressed in this volume to qualify its rose-colored pictures with this grain of common sense in one of its closing paragraphs, to wit: "One of the great arts of money-making consists in the gift of *knowing just what to do, according to one's power and circumstances.*"

The Indian Sunday-School Manual. Specially adapted to Sunday-School Work in India. By Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D. A Centennial Volume. 12mo, pp. 226. Lucknow Methodist Episcopal Church Press. 1882.

Catalogue and Report of the Bareilly Theological Seminary and Christian High School of the North India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1881. 12mo, pp. 34.

English Men of Letters. Edited by John Morley. John Milton; by Mark Pattison. Alexander Pope; by Leslie Stephen. William Cowper; by Goldwin Smith. New York: Harper & Bros.

Anne. A Novel. By Constance Fennimore Woolson. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. 12mo, pp. 540. New York: Harper & Bros.

Our Set. A Collection of Stories. By Annie Thomas, author of "Denis Donne," "Theo. Leigh." New York: Harper & Bros.

The Heart of the White Mountains, Their Legends and Scenery. By Samuel Adams Drake, author of "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast," "Captain Nelson," etc. Forest Edition. With Illustrations by W. Hamilton Gibson. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence. A Book for Travelers and Settlers. New Edition. Thoroughly Revised; giving Detailed Accounts of the Culture of the Wine and Raisin Grape, the Orange, Lemon, Olive, and other Semi-Tropical Fruits; Colony Settlements, Methods of Irrigation, etc. By Charles Nordhoff. With Maps and Numerous Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849. By Thomas Carlyle. 8vo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

Dickens. By Adolphus Ward. 8vo, pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Order of the Sciences. An Essay on the Philosophical Classification and Organization of Human Knowledge. By Charles W. Shields, Professor in Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 103. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Quaint Folk of Haverly. By E. J. Boyd, author of "Rachel Cardingford's Book," "Hearts of Gold," "Stories of Diamonds," "Farmer Burt's Seed," "Prayer-Tests Series," etc. Two Illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

The Burden Lifted. By Josephine Pollard. Two Illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

Shakspeare's Comedy of The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Edited with Notes by William J. Rolfe, A.M. Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Timon of Athens. Edited with Notes. By William J. Rolfe, A.M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

John Inglesant. A Romance. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of the First Forty Years of his Life, 1795–1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Formerly Fellow of Baxter College, Oxford. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Charles Lamb. By ALFRED AINGER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Plain-Speaking. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Seventieth Annual Report of the Mission Stations and Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the North India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Held at Moradabad, Jan. 11–17, 1882. Lucknow: Printed at the Methodist Episcopal Church Press. Rev. J. H. Messmore, Superintendent. 1882.

The Christian Orphanage. John 15. 7. A Faith Work; at Curreemnuggar and Mylarum, Nizam's Dominions, India. Second Report, March 12, 1880, to March 12, 1881. Bombay Methodist Book Concern. 1881.

Victor Hugo and His Time. By ALFRED BARBOU. Illustrated with 120 Drawings, by MM. Émile Bayard, Clerget, Fichel, Jules Garnier, Gervex, Giacomelli, Ch. Gasselin, Jean-Paul, Laurens, Lix, Olivier Merson, H. Meyer, Ed. Morin, Scott, Vogel, Zier, etc.; and a great number of Drawings by Victor Hugo. Engraved by Méaulle. Translated from the French by Ellen E. Frewer. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Bible Doctrine of Hell. Cincinnati: Elm-street Printing Co. 1882.

Unknown to History. A Story of the Captivity of Mary of Scotland. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Hunting Adventures on Land and Sea. Part II. The Young Nimrods Around the World. A Book for Boys. By THOMAS W. KNOX, author of "The Boy Travelers in the Far East," "The Young Nimrods in North America," "How to Travel," "Overland through Asia," "John," etc. Copiously Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Positive Evidences of Christianity. By Rev. B. W. BOND, of the Baltimore Conference, M. E. Church, South. Edited by Thomas O. Summers, D.D., LL.D. Revised Edition. Nashville, Tenn. Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1881.

Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1881. New York: Hall of the Board of Education. 1882.

Engd. by H. Wallace, from a Painting in N.Y.

Yours affectionately
J. McClintock

Methodist Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1882.

Art. I.—JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D.

John M'Clintock, a scholar, a divine, and the prince of the Methodist preachers that have appeared in my time, was born in Philadelphia, October 27, 1814. His father and mother, both from County Tyrone, Ireland, belonged to the Scotch-Irish race which has contributed so much to the vigor and energy of this country. His father's father early came under the influence of Mr. Wesley and his teachings, and was a zealous and useful member of the "Methodist Society." John's own father, who came to this country in 1806, and settled in Philadelphia, was a man of unusual intelligence, alert in movement, irrepressible in temper, persistent, tenacious, and a man of mark in the same religious communion. His mother was a woman of very clear intellect, placid spirit, and deep, though unobtrusive, piety; to whose rare purity and tenderness of character his own was indebted for many of his most sweet and attractive qualities. Not often are the loveliness and grace of woman united to the brilliancy and strength of man in so conspicuous a degree as happened in the case of John M'Clintock. The home of his childhood and youth was prosperous yet unpretending — ordered by industry, frugality, temperance, and method; and into it shone the clear white light of virtue and religion.

Into the homes of the M'Clintocks in two countries, for

two generations, the spirit and words of the Wesleys had come, and were the nourishment and inspiration of John M'Clintock from his earliest years. He was sung to sleep when a child by the strains of "Come, O, thou Traveler unknown"; and the cheek of the boy glowed, and his eye flashed with martial enthusiasm, as he joined with the great congregation in old "St. George's"—his father's church—while they sang with one heart and one voice, "Come on, my partners in distress." Solomon Sharpe, Ezekiel Cooper, Beverly Waugh, John Emory, and other men of renown belonging to the heroic days of Methodism—Mr. Asbury's sons in the Gospel, as he in turn was Mr. Wesley's son—were frequent guests at the house of John's father. It is not easy to portray the feelings with which a Methodist boy of that generation looked upon and listened to these venerable men as they sat beside his father's board. There was reverence, but no chilling fear; for they were most human-hearted men, and, remembering the injunction, "Feed my lambs," were exceedingly considerate and kind to the children of the household. Their labors, self-denials, hardships, and sufferings made them seem like war-worn veterans in the eyes of an ingenuous lad as he listened to the stirring stories of their privations and perils; and the interest of the narrative was heightened by the play of a quaint humor which they nearly all possessed. John's sensitive, vivid nature eagerly welcomed the impressions made by these fascinating men, who shone before him as saints and heroes at the fireside and in the pulpit; it is, therefore, not strange that as the years went on he should become an enthusiastic Methodist, and a preacher as well.

Philadelphia had good schools, and John was an earnest student. Then came a pause in his scholastic life, for his father's affairs fell into embarrassment, and John had to earn his bread, and do what he might toward helping the family. His capacity was even then so noted that he was appointed, at sixteen, chief book-keeper of the Methodist Book Concern in New York; and, while tied to the "desk's dull wood," did his drudging work in the alert, rapid, and accurate way characteristic of him through life. What time he had to spare was given to study and religion. He took his first lessons in harnessing the tongue to the brain in the Irving Debating Club;

and the friends he made there, who listened with wonder and delight to his maiden speeches, he kept throughout life—and this was also a characteristic trait: he rarely, if ever, lost a friend, except by death. Returning to Philadelphia in the summer of 1832, he entered the University of Pennsylvania as a freshman; when eighteen years of age, he took and held the first place in the class, and worked so diligently that, having passed a rigid examination, he became a junior a year ahead of his classmates, cramming the studies of four years into three, but only spending two at the University itself. His exercise books, both of school and college life, remain and bear witness to the thoroughness of his work. All is written out with most minute attention to detail. In analysis, translation, scanning, every point of etymology, syntax, prosody, mythology, and history was examined, and the fact or rule stated. In this exact discipline the foundation of Dr. M'Clintock's culture was laid. He did not leap to excellence, but rose to it by honest exertion. Rapid and brilliant at all times, he did not disdain what most young men call drudgery. His college note-books show evidence of activity in every department of knowledge. In the neatest of hands are preserved digests of lectures on chemistry, mathematics, philosophy, and constitutional law; sketches of problems in the calculus; drawings of parts of the steam-engine, and of philosophical instruments, with descriptions; in fact, nothing seems to have come amiss to him. As a school-boy, he had drilled into him the habit of doing every thing well, and the habit clung to him ever after.

He had learned by this time enough of his capabilities to be aware that he might expect to attain eminence in any profession. He was ambitious, had a keen sense of the value of wealth and the enjoyableness of a great fame. The Methodist ministry was, to his mind, a complete surrender of both. Its emoluments were then small, its opportunities of culture slender, its incessant change disheartening to a student. "The still small voice" within his own breast, bidding him go forth into the fields which were white unto the harvest, was mightier than the solicitations of pleasure, wealth, and fame; and at the close of his junior year in college he entered upon the active duties of a Methodist preacher, calling upon men to flee from the wrath to come, and lay hold upon eternal life. Side

by side with his pastoral labors the studies of the senior year in the university were kept up. He passed his examinations with distinction, and was graduated with high honor when less than twenty-one years old. He had even then much of the swiftness, dexterity, and grasp in laying hold of knowledge and making it his own, and what appeared to be an unlimited capacity for work, which so eminently marked him in later life; but his triumphs as a student, and in airily, gracefully carrying the double burden laid upon his youthful shoulders, were bought at a heavy price of illness, suffering, and, at last, death before his time. Such were his gifts, grace, and usefulness that his Church importunately called him, at whatever cost to himself, to enter the active ranks of her ministry: docile, sensitive, spiritually-minded, and trained to self-denial, he could not resist. One cannot but be saddened by the shortcomings of his *alma mater* toward this brilliant son, as well as the unwise haste, not to say unpardonable folly, of his churchly elders in not suffering him to tarry at Jericho until his beard grew. His college had taught him how to study, and given him the usual amount of intellectual food. And this still passes for education. It is safe to say that he received no instruction on the sovereign subject of health, the relation of the spiritual and animal parts of his nature, how the body may be conserved and improved, while the mind is fledging for its wider flights. The strain of his faculties, moreover, in his honest attempt to perform the impossible—the double duty of a painstaking and faithful undergraduate and at the same time of the zealous and laborious minister—undermined his physique, excellent as it was by nature, and opened the sluice for many an after-flood of sickness, suffering, and misery. His maladies, which became manifold, robbed himself, the Church, and the world of many of the best fruits of his ripest years. He sometimes described himself as a man dragging a log-chain by which he was bound.

His ministry began first on a circuit in New Jersey, then at Elizabethtown, whence he was transferred to Jersey City. The youthful preacher every-where awakened the deepest interest by his pastoral and public ministrations, and many a soul was indebted to him for light and inspiration, the quickening of a higher life.

Not long, after the failure of his health, had he to look for such work as he could do. Lagrange College, Ala., then presided over by the Rev. Robert Paine, now the venerable and beloved Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, offered him a professorship; and soon after the Chair of Mathematics in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., was opened to him. He chose the latter, and at once, in his prompt, earnest way, began to fulfill its duties. His stay in Jersey City, with its experience of disaster, had brought him an abundant blessing—the acquaintance of Miss Caroline Augusta Wakeman, who became his wife soon after he began the work in his new sphere. She was born the same day in the same year with himself; was in full sympathy with him as a student and scholar, animated and cheered him in the prosecution of his multifarious tasks, and made his home a place of rest to which he ever turned with joy. The new scenes into which he entered, the new work, and especially his new associates, were as a cordial, and his elastic health soon revived. Most fruitful years of a well-ordered peace were the twelve which he spent in the happy valley in which Carlisle stands, encircled lovingly by the Blue Mountain ridge, and enveloped in an atmosphere of crystal clearness, on which the play of light and shade produced every hour some new and striking effect. Only the hum of the great world's tumult could be heard in that still, secluded spot, not loud enough to disturb the calm of studious pursuits. The town preserved the tradition of the learned culture which has distinguished it from the close of the last century, when the great Dr. Nisbet ruled the college, and still later when the illustrious Dr. John M. Mason filled the same place, and when one of the chairs was occupied by M'Clellend, the marvelous rhetorician, the fame of whose power of speech lingered in the Cumberland Valley long after his time. The steady pace and even pulse of life seemed here to tone down the feverish excitement which is the usual condition under which American society exists. To M'Clintock, great as was his pleasure in imparting knowledge—for, like Dr. Arnold, and deserving to rank next to the head-master of Rugby, he was a born teacher—his delight in gaining it was even greater. He used to say, jocularly, that a college would be charming if only there were no students. He was a most faithful and laborious teacher;

his classes stimulated him and gave zest to his exertions. He had the art of connecting the work of the students with his own culture, and, if on a higher plane, was moving in the same lines with them. He was greatly aided by his social advantages, and made them helpful to his more serious occupations. It was not often that he could be induced to spend a whole evening in society. Time was too precious, he said; and he grudged the surrender of so many hours. Every day he took pains to see some friend, would beguile a half-hour with pleasant chat, and then be off again to work. In such pauses from labor he was playful as if his life was a long holiday. He had the magnetism which made him a charming companion, and if he drew much from society, he also gave much to it. His sympathies were catholic, and enabled him to touch his fellow men at many points. He could enter quickly into the life of others, come to an understanding of it, and establish agreeable relations with them without an unnecessary expenditure of time. His social power supplemented his talents, and contributed largely to his success. Swift and true as was his insight, penetrating to the very heart of things and men; full and embracing as was his charity, coupled with a deep and reverent faith, he would have lacked his highest charm without the glancing humor and overflowing love of fun which fused and mellowed all his powers, making him most dear to all his friends. To the end of life, despite all his infirmities and sorrows, while you saw him to be a great, wise, cultured man, he remained like a sweet and beautiful child. If Coleridge's definition of genius be true—carrying the sensibilities and affections of childhood into middle and later life—then was John M'Clintock pre-eminently a man of genius. Every clever student who entered his classes not only caught the inspiration of his enthusiasm for learning, but glowed with a kindling desire to be a truer and wiser man. Fear of the learned professor and critical scholar was disarmed by his frank and genial manner, and all the collegians came to regard him as an elder brother. Pretense was a thing intolerable to him, and he never failed to unmask it; but it was always done in a humorous fashion; he never inflicted a wound, but was none the less honest for all that. A crotchety student, whose brain was a kind of limbo, came to

him one day with, "Professor, I have got hold of the greatest thought that ever entered the mind of man." "Out with it," said M'Clintock in his prompt way, a merry twinkle in his eye. The gownsman struggled, stammered, boggled, at last said: "Words cannot express it; the idea is too vast and grand." "No," said the professor, his face radiant with fun, "No, you are mistaken; you think you have genius; that isn't what ails you, 'tis indigestion; you have eaten something at dinner which disagrees with you. Go home; take some soda to correct the action of your stomach, and you will soon come all right. Go, my boy." The student joined with the professor in the hearty laugh, and the wind, at least for the time, was let out of that bladder; and the lesson was worth many a recitation in Greek and trigonometry.

His fellow professors formed a rare group of men. Among them was Dr. William H. Allen, now and for many years the noble President of Girard College, Philadelphia; then, by his versatility and thoroughness, passing from chair to chair in the institution, as the needs of the new management required, achieving the highest success in all, and giving sure presage of the eminence which he has since won and deserved. Another was Merritt Caldwell—like Allen, a graduate of Bowdoin—in whom you scarce knew whether most to admire and love the ardent, simple Christian, the scholar, teacher, or friend. The President of the Faculty was the Rev. Dr. John P. Durbin, whose fame and power as a preacher were at that day second to those of no man in the country. Born, toward the close of the last century or the beginning of this, in Kentucky, when it was the "Far West," he grew up on the frontier with few advantages, save such as pioneer life could furnish; but if the Roman fable be true, even wolf's milk is not bad nourishment for men of genius and heroic mold. Beginning his ministry upon the vast circuits of the West, preaching in log-cabins, school-houses, and at camp-meetings; sleeping on the ground many a night, in winter as well as summer, his horse hobbled near by; his fare parched corn or "dodger," bear-meat, venison, or bacon; inured to the privations and hardships which belonged to the career of a backwoods itinerant, with indomitable energy he pursued, not only his theological studies, but academic as well; came up for the collegiate examinations, and was

honorably graduated A.B. To his energy and love of knowledge there was added that strange, fascinating power called eloquence. His fame filled the West, and in time crossed the Alleghanies. Among my own earliest recollections are those of the appearance, voice, and manner of Dr. Durbin as he stood in the old-fashioned high pulpit—on a level with the gallery, and a sounding-board above it—of the "Academy," a Methodist church which had been built by Whitefield on Fourth-street, below Arch, in Philadelphia. There I sat, an eager, questioning child, amid the dense, hushed throng that had gathered to hear the renowned preacher. Though I could understand little of what was said, I still remember the monotonous, almost drawling, tones with which Dr. Durbin began the service in the hymn, prayer, lessons, and opening of the sermon. Those who had not heard him before were always keenly, not to say bitterly, disappointed by his manner and appearance. His frame was almost slight, his face well-nigh dull, nor was there anything noteworthy about the appearance of his head; even the eye was inexpressive. The discourse, begun upon an ordinary conversational key, proceeded with the unfolding of the subject sometimes for half an hour, without a hint of what was coming. The language was plain; the style, unlabored; the thought ingenious rather than profound, and though sometimes subtle, was usually on the hearers' plane. When all expectation was subdued, and it seemed as if the sermon was to continue upon the accustomed level of commonplace, the preacher would appear for an instant to undergo a transformation, and the lifeless manner, the drawling tone, the dull face and eye, were changed—and such a change: a kind of electric shock ran through the assembly. The change was only for a moment, but was soon repeated and continued for a longer time; and then the new manner and the new man remained. It seemed as if his spirit had dropped the garment of the flesh, was embodied of its own substance, naked and visible to mortal sight. The voice grew round, full, flexible, sonorous, the exquisite vehicle of every emotion; the action was full of power, and his form seemed to dilate to gigantic size; his face became mobile, dramatic, radiant, and his eye shone with an almost insufferable splendor which well-nigh dazzled and overpowered all beholders. The trance of the hearers was complete; life

was absorbed in hearing, sight, and emotion; they leaned forward, stood up, forgot to breathe, and the silence was so awful that the preacher's voice sounded as if in a place of the dead. When it seemed as if they were all caught up into the heaven of heavens, and had heard things unutterable, the rapture tempered by awe, the preacher ceased, and slowly men regained their consciousness. As the congregation dispersed, men and women spoke with bated breath, saying, with the patriarch, "Surely the Lord is in this place. How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." All this I came to know and feel in later years, but even as a child I was subject to the great orator's spell, felt the thrill of his power, and trembled before the almost transfigured majesty of the man. How extraordinary was his mastery may be divined from the fact that he affected a little child thus, as well as gray-haired sires and matrons. His appearance in a Philadelphia pulpit was always hailed by multitudes as a kind of pentecost. Singularly enough, this great orator, differing from most men of his class, was a man of affairs, possessing wonderful capacity for the common business of life.

Whatever he undertook his penetrating intelligence, foresight, and prudence enabled him to grasp, while his attention to details and unwearied industry brought it to a successful end. He filled every position to which he was called by the Church with consummate tact, energy, and victory. It can, therefore, be understood that Dickinson College was most fortunate in the administration of its president. With these men young Professor M'Clintock entered into the most friendly and loving relations; but the tenderest and strongest tie he formed was that which bound him to Professor Emory, at that time filling the chair of Ancient Languages. Their age was nearly the same, and while the influence of a Methodist inheritance in common had nourished in them the same tastes, habits, forms of thought and faith, their difference of temperament and character was complete, and thus the ground was formed for a union as perfect as that between David and Jonathan. Emory was the son of a bishop, and possessed every advantage of position and culture; had been graduated with the highest distinction in Columbia College, trained in the most thought-

ful and exact manner by his wise and gifted father, and even as a youth was exemplary, mature, and grand—large in every quality and virtue, but largest of all in perfect self-abnegation—the complete surrender of himself to his Master's work. The soundness of judgment and maturity of wisdom which characterized him and made his counsel sought on great questions, even by the fathers, seemed as if they could only be the result of wide and long experience. He was in truth a most kingly man, fitted to administer and rule in all grave, high things; self-contained, reserved, discreet, always looking before and after. M'Clintock was mercurial, spontaneous, exuberant, offhand. Yet in one thing they were alike, perfect ingenuousness, transparent simplicity of character. They were likewise brave men, abhorring cant, and having the courage to speak what was in their minds, "whether men would hear or whether they would forbear." The almost romantic devotion between Robert Emory and John M'Clintock, from the day their friendship was formed to the end of Emory's life, sheds a soft and beautiful luster over both, and makes one believe that even yet the love "which passeth the love of woman" may exist. In this new theater and these congenial occupations and with such friends, the radiant young professor betook him to his work with a will. He had taken "all knowledge as his portion," and he needed only nerves of steel and a frame incapable of exhaustion to secure full possession. While teaching college students mathematics, his own studies spread out in all directions. Though with a good appetite for all learning, he had a choice. To physics he seemed somewhat indifferent; but languages, logic, metaphysics, and theology, with history, poetry, and *belles-lettres*, had for him charms he never wished to resist. He had no notion of becoming a mere mathematician, "his eyes glazed o'er with sapless days." He early planned a broad range of intellectual pursuits, and adhered to his plan with fidelity. His lamp, among the many lighted at the college, was by hours the last to be put out. Swift as were his mental processes, vast and sure his appropriation of knowledge, his intellectual hunger was insatiable; but he had scarce completed his second year as professor when his health again gave way. Thus it continued with him through life: seasons of prodigious intellectual activity were followed

by seasons of enforced abstinence from all serious work. The heroic medical treatment to which he was subjected made him almost understand what is meant by the tortures of the rack. Ten years after this he supposed himself to be subject to disease of the heart, and lived under a constant apprehension of sudden death. He had frequent swoons; dared not trust himself to the length of his tether, and was "easily upset." And all this might have been avoided if his college had, with its other teachings, only taught the most important thing of all—how to care for and handle himself.

After many months of languor and pain he regained strength enough to go to work again, devouring all kinds of literature, indexing, filling common-place books, garnering his harvest that it might be bread for after years. Children were born to him, and thus his education was carried higher, for nothing deepens, enriches, and hallows a man's nature like the little ones, of whom is "the kingdom of heaven." In those Carlisle years, likewise, there came the solemn mystery, Death, "that cloudy porch oft opening on the sun," in which we sit "muffled round with woe" in the great darkness, until at last, lifting the eyes, still half-blinded by tears, we see One like unto the Son of man, "his countenance as the sun shineth in his strength," and hear him say, "I am the resurrection and the life." As he surrendered his first-born, a beautiful little girl, he heard the great voice say, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." Later his revered and tender mother passed on before, and he heard the voice say, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labors." "Thus build we up the being that we are" by brave labor, indefatigable energy, the earnest fulfillment of daily duty; by the purged eye of faith, a tenderer charity, a more deep and reverent piety, and a meek submission to the will of Him "who doeth all things well."

Hebrew, German, and French were added to his Latin, Greek, and mathematical studies. Coleridge and Wordsworth were an early passion with him, and did much to mold his tastes and affect his ways of thought and vision. Carlyle's voice, which in those days was a trumpet-tone to young men, reached his ear and profoundly stirred him. Then came Goethe, "that Titan in court dress." Auguste Comte soon

engaged him, and I believe he was the first, certainly among the first, to introduce the Positive philosophy to American readers.* He made himself acquainted with the German metaphysicians, from Kant to Schelling; was among the first on this side of the water to know what Strauss and the Tübingen school of theology had to say. Together with Professor Blumenthal, he translated "Neander's Life of Christ," and placed that invaluable book within easy reach of English readers, furnishing them with a victorious answer to Strauss, and a refutation of the whole Tübingen school of that day. The work was admirably done, and won for him a correspondence with Neander, in which he expressed his loving thanks, and afterward the warm personal friendship of the great Church historian. In Neander he found German learning coming, after traveling a wide circuit, to the position taken by Wesley, that Christianity is more than all else a life—that it is "a power which, as it is exalted above all that human nature can create out of its own resources, must change it from its inmost center."

How he bore himself amid all his studies, and what was the temper of his inmost life as he came into fuller acquaintance with what is called modern philosophic thought, may be seen from this letter written to his brother:

CARLISLE, *February*, 1841.

I believe, and therefore speak. So said St. Paul, and so say I. Don't ask me what I know, for I know nothing that is not grounded at bottom upon a simple act of belief. The man who talks about understanding his nature or his destiny may be very wise, but either he or I must be a madman. Your letter shows no feelings or thoughts, I believe, that have not formed part of my own experience. You need not think you are alone in such things. They form no part of my present existence. Why? Because I have reasoned myself out of them? Nay, I should have reasoned myself into Bedlam first, but because I have rested myself in simple trust—so simple that any child might exercise it, yet so profound that all philosophy cannot fathom it—upon the Great Divine Man, the pattern of purity and sorrow, Jesus Christ, the only perfect being of whom I have heard in the whole history of the world. I have no other secret to impart.

*It is, however, due to historic truth, and to Dr. M'Clintock, to say, that he never claimed the authorship of the Articles on Comte. All of them, if we mistake not, were written by Professor George Frederic Holmes, now of the University of Virginia.—ED.

I believe in Jesus Christ. Am I tempted? So was he; I resist, and there is no sin. Have I suffered? So has he, who glorified sorrow in his life and death. Pain is not evil, pleasure is not good; faith alone is good, and sin or unbelief alone is evil. Such is my simple creed; all the universe could not drive me from it. All bastard philosophy (and God knows I have pestered my brains with it as much as most men) cannot shake it. No temptation can overturn it or overcome me so long as I bide in it. Do you ask me whether this belief has saved me. It has. How? All I know about it is expressed in these words: It is the power of God unto salvation for all them that believe. That is all I know about it. How do I know that I am saved, then? Why thus: If I relax this faith an hour the universe becomes a shoreless, crazy whirlpool, and my brain runs giddy as I look into it. Look into it I must, for I am in the midst of it. But with this faith that universe is for me a firm, rock-built city, a dwelling for my soul. All the discords, dissonances, the mad storm of human voices, the angry curses of guilty men, the inarticulate wail of wide-spread anguish, the noise of wars and murders—think you that I have no ear to hear these things? I do hear them, and I feel that they would drive me mad almost if I did not believe. The image of Christ rises up before me, pure, perfect, mild, serene, sorrowful, yet with power beyond all else that I can conceive. It is the image of God. My salvation beams from those gentle eyes; it is spoken from every lineament of that placid countenance. Look upon him, my brother, and see how mildly and kindly, with sweet tones, sad yet earnest, he asks you to give over your vain strivings and rest in him. Look upon him and you are saved. Some people think religion is a kind of bargain-and-sale business, a barter of so much happiness in this life for so much in the next; a mere working for wages, not deep, inward, heart-subduing reverence, but low, sordid hope of advantage or fear of pain. And yet they recognize Christ as the model of religion. Just think for a moment how widely different all this is from his character, and you will see how deeply they have sunk below the purity of his faith. What advantage did Christ look for? What could he look for? What pain had he not to fear? I tell you honestly that I see but little of the faith of which I speak among men. Many substitute the vulgar motives to which I have just alluded in its stead. Many have their paltry souls crammed full of cant and hypocrisy. What of all this? I know that I believe; I know that my religion is not cant. I am determined to be honest for myself; I believe, and therefore speak. Read that beautiful parting address of Christ contained in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of John. Recollect his words recorded in Matt. xi, 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Nowhere else can rest be obtained. Take those sweet words to your heart in simple confidence, and all will be well. My mind is cleared, my heart is

freed, not because I am free from care—I am full of it—but because I believe. Believe, and it shall be done unto you. You will find in the end, as I have found, in the language of the French philosopher, Cousin, that "Christianity is the perfection of reason."

This may stand as the statement of his faith throughout the rest of his life.

By the aid of the Germans, too, he entered the rich fields of philology and comparative grammar, and kept informed of their finds in the Sanskrit. After a few years he was transferred from the chair of mathematics to that of the ancient languages, for which he qualified himself in an eminent degree. With his friend and associate, Professor Crooks, he set himself to the preparation of a series of Latin and Greek elementary books on the method of "imitation and repetition." It was the first of the kind in the United States, and the books found a ready acceptance, and their plan has since become universal. Though more than thirty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first volume, they still retain an honorable position in the schools.

His interest in the affairs of the Church and of the nation was vivid and profound as in his scholarly pursuits. He had a quick and comprehensive eye for all that was going on in the political and ecclesiastical world, as well as for the researches of archæologists and the speculations of philosophers. He was gentle, but not timid; his kindly nature was tinctured by the conservatism of the true scholar, but in him there was no cowardice. He never brawled as a partisan, nor shrieked himself hoarse for the sake of standing well with a majority. He early embraced antislavery views, and although Dickinson College was near the Maryland line and drew many of its students from that State and Virginia, he never disguised his opinions, but on all fit occasions made them plainly known both by tongue and pen. He strongly opposed the admission of Texas into the Union, because it would add to the power of slavery, and bore the testimony of his conscience whenever and wherever he was called on to do so: but he ever spoke what he felt to be the truth in love, never with bitterness. His sincerity was in due time put to a better test by his incurring the risk of fine and imprisonment. He had

formed his opinions cautiously, but was ready, when the time came, to jeopard all he held dear for their sake.

At about five o'clock on a pleasant June afternoon, in 1847, Professor M'Clintock, as was his wont, walked from his home to the post-office for his letters, quite ignorant of the stormy excitement which was at that moment agitating the usually sleepy borough of Carlisle. The postmaster asked him if he knew what was going on, and when told that he did not, informed him that the case of some fugitive slaves was on trial at the court-house.

Three negroes had escaped from slavery in Maryland, and, reaching Carlisle, were pursued by their masters, who caused them to be arrested and thrown into jail until they could arrange to carry them back to Maryland. The negroes of the town were naturally wrought to the highest pitch of excitement; a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, the fugitives brought by the sheriff before Judge Hepburn, who, having heard the arguments of counsel, declared that the slaves were illegally in the hands of the sheriff. At that moment Professor M'Clintock entered the court-room and met an Episcopal clergyman, who expressed a doubt of the testimony which had been offered to prove that two of the fugitives, a mother and her child, were slaves. He had a rude greeting from some of the excited whites, who made up a large part of the crowd in court. "There," shouted some one, "goes the d—d abolitionist!" "Look at M'Clintock," shouted another voice, "the d—d abolitionist!" Taking his seat inside the bar with the counsel, he asked them if they had seen the new law of 1847, forbidding the judicial and executive officers of Pennsylvania to bear any part whatever in the capture of fugitive slaves. They had not even heard of it. It was then mentioned by the counsel to the judge, but the judge was not advised of its existence. As far as could be ascertained a certified copy was not to be found in the borough, and the only newspaper copy was in possession of Professor M'Clintock himself. The State capital where the law was enacted was within twenty miles of Carlisle.

Passing on to the door of the court-room, in obedience to the judge's order to clear it, Professor M'Clintock saw a white man raise a stick threateningly over the head of a negro, saying at the same moment, "You ought to have your skull

broke." The negro protested that he had done nothing. "Then," said the professor, "if any one strikes you, apply to me, and I will see that justice is done to you." Filled with the idea that all the proceedings were illegal, the professor hastened to the college to get his copy of the act of 1847. Returning with it, he joined a number of the lawyers who were standing in front of the court-house, as the owners with their slaves came down from the room above and endeavored to place them in a carriage standing by the edge of the sidewalk. A rush was made by the crowd of negroes; two of the fugitives were carried off, and Mr. Kennaday, one of the owners, followed in hot pursuit, crossed the street, tripped on some loose boards, and fell heavily. Before he could rise he was struck repeatedly by the negroes as they rushed past him in their flight, severely hurt, and rendered helpless. It was all done in the twinkling of an eye. The lawyers stood upon the court-house steps, Professor M'Clintock among them, but without the slightest power to check or prevent the outbreak.

As the news of the rescue and the hurt done to Mr. Kennaday spread through the borough, the population, especially its less intelligent portion, was ablaze with excitement. It was M'Clintock, was the outcry, who had instigated and led the riot; it was M'Clintock who had cheered the negroes on to the commission of violence, assuring them that he would take the risk of all consequences. The unreasoning anger of the moment fell heavily upon him. He was immediately arrested, as were many of the negroes. When the news spread through the country the excitement became intense. As usual, the distorted story was the first to reach the press, and elicited the severest comments. In a letter to his brother-in-law he said:

> You are perfectly right in supposing that I have done nothing illegal or wrong. If to sympathize with the oppressed be a sin, I plead guilty; if to aid them without violating the law be a sin, then I am a transgressor; but not otherwise. I have had my mind in peace and comfort through the whole affair, and do not wonder at the tranquillity of other men in worse contingencies.

Three weeks after the riot Mr. Kennaday, who had been well cared for and seemed in a fair way to be soon well of his wounds, suddenly died—not from his hurts, but from injudicious eating. His death increased the excitement a hundred-

fold. A fierce effort was made to send Professor M'Clintock to the penitentiary. The trial came off in August; the array of counsel against him was imposing; no skill or pains were spared to secure his conviction; there was hard swearing by many witnesses for the prosecution; and even when the jury brought in their verdict the presiding judge so far forgot his duty and the dignity of his place as to read them a sharp lecture upon their wrong-headedness and the injustice of their finding—so intense was the prejudice against M'Clintock. He was, nevertheless, acquitted. Some of the negroes, however, were found guilty and sentenced to the penitentiary. The professor, not content with his own safety, satisfied that they had been illegally condemned, bestirred himself in their behalf, and after the expenditure of much time and great pains secured a hearing from the Court of Appeals, and thus a reversal of the lower court's decision and the discharge of the prisoners. His bearing throughout the whole business was in keeping with his character—that of a thorough, fearless gentleman, scholar, and Christian.

He was soon called upon to endure a much heavier trial in the loss, by death, of his beloved and revered friends, Robert Emory and Merritt Caldwell, the latter the senior professor of Dickinson College. He felt that the strongest ties which bound him to Carlisle had been severed. A great light had gone out of his life in the death of Emory, and he determined to find a home in New York or its neighborhood.

About this time, in May, 1848, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church elected him to be the editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, and in July he undertook the duties of his new position. During the eight years of his editorial life he brought the Review to the front rank of such publications, gave it a high reputation abroad as well as at home for depth and range of scholarship, catholicity of temper, soundness of orthodox theology, coupled with philosophic and Christian fairness to adversaries. The line of policy which he determined on was a bold one. Before he entered upon his work the General Conference had directed him to make the Quarterly "more practical."

"But how?" he asks, in his first address to his readers. "Not, surely, by lowering its tone in point of literature and

scholarship; that could never have been meant." He understood that the practical religious interest had, hitherto, almost complete dominion in American Methodism; but he saw clearly that this interest would be safe only so far as it was illustrated, defended, and protected by a corresponding literature. As all life which is destined permanently to affect the world finds for itself fitting literary expression, so he was confident the great vital force of Methodism would, in time, issue in appropriate literary creation. To stimulate other minds to the exercise of their best activity was, therefore, the chief duty which he laid upon himself during these years.

Methodism was born in a university, and cradled by men of sound learning; but upon the death of Mr. Wesley the administration of its affairs in England passed, for the most part, into the hands of men good and true, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, but whose knowledge of letters and science was narrow and small; while on this side of the water Mr. Asbury used to say to his preachers, "You may read books; I read the Bible and men," and the favorite watchword of his helpers was, "Getting knowledge is good, but saving souls is better." Bishop Emory, Dr. Fisk, Dr. Few, Dr. Durbin, and Dr. Olin gave the Church an impulse in the right direction, and did much to develop and foster among Methodist preachers the ardent desire for a higher education and broader culture. Greatly also is the Methodist Church indebted to John M'Clintock for its progressive scholarship and great advance in good learning. His mental energy was felt by all with whom he came in contact as an inspiration. His growing acquisitions made him always fresh; his geniality disposed him to communicate freely what he knew; his imagination colored and magnified the objects of his interest, and his warm feelings gave them life. It was in these years that he first planned the "Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature," the publication of which was begun in his lifetime, and has since his death been so admirably carried forward by his associate from the beginning, Dr. James Strong. It is the most comprehensive, thorough, and complete book of its kind in the English, indeed, in any language. Even the Germans have nothing superior to it for width and depth of scholarship. It possesses an inestimable advantage over Herzog's, or any other work that may

challenge competition with it, because the latest and fullest results of learning have passed through the brain and faith of English-speaking men. It thus gains a practical value, and is at the same time free from every taint of a low, degrading rationalism. It must remain for many years the best representative of biblical and theological erudition. Here is an extract from a letter of our brilliant young editor to his friend, Dr. Olin, which gives us a glimpse of some of his experiences after mounting the tripod:

I am pestered to death with volunteer contributions for the Review. Men who have just learned the Greek alphabet send me critical and exegetical remarks on passages of Scripture. Others give original sketches in Church history, made out of Mosheim and Dr. Ruter. Others discuss final perseverance in series of elegant extracts from "Watson's Institutes," and "Fletcher's Checks." Others give me copious analyses of good Bishop Asbury's journal. Others send in Dr. Clarke's ideas on disputed Scriptures—whereof Dr. Clarke knew nothing. Is it not delightful? Such zealous, painstaking, thorough, scholarly work going on in so many different quarters at once! Hope for the world.

Despite these profuse offers from volunteers, Dr. M'Clintock gathered for the Review the ablest staff of writers that could be found in Europe and America, in his own Church and out of it, scholars, divines, philosophers, and essayists. In treating public questions he rejected, as he heartily despised, the "false conservatism, at once domineering and timid, despotic and servile, which would stand still when all the world is in motion;" but no less did he disdain the "morbid appetite for new measures which forms some men's substitute for virtue." He had the conservative instincts which come of large scholarship; but loved progress, too, as every one will who has a "forward-looking mind." To raise the literary character of the Review he added departments of Theological and Literary Intelligence, and extended the Critical Notices so as to include the best English and foreign books. Essays on biblical and philological criticism and the highest themes of philosophy rounded out his editorial scheme.

The following extracts from the letters of Auguste Comte are curious as coming from the founder of the Positive Philosophy to a Methodist preacher and editor:

To Dr. M'Clintock. Paris, 7, Homer 64, *Wednesday, Feb.* 4, 1852.

Sir: In the number of your "Methodist Quarterly" for January, 1852, which I received last Thursday, I have just read a conscientious review of my principal work, written by an eminent adversary, containing, indeed, numerous involuntary mistakes, which are, however, but trifling, and may, therefore, be spontaneously corrected hereafter. This generous proceeding, to which I have been but little accustomed from the French press, induces me to extend, even to such adversaries, my personal "appeal to the western public," which, indeed, merely supplements that of 1848, so generously referred to in this memorable article. . . . I cannot but congratulate myself upon this momentary infraction of the happy rule of mental hygiene which for many years closed to me, systematically, all papers or reviews, even scientific ones, and has permitted me no other habitual reading than that, ever new, of the masterpieces of western poetry, both ancient and modern.

Paris, 24, Dante 64, *Saturday, Aug.* 7, 1852.

I have been deeply touched by the inclosure in your letter of June 29, received July 15. This noble participation of two eminent philosophical opponents tends to characterize more fully the true nature of the free subsidy which is to shield from undeserved poverty the conscientious thinker whom they are unwilling to combat, otherwise than by fair arguments, free from all material pressure, either active or passive. However, from the true religious standpoint where love is higher than faith, we feel that a certain brotherhood unites all those who, at this time, are sincerely striving to overcome intellectual and moral anarchy; whatever may be the opposition otherwise existing between the doctrines they hold with this common aim.

In the second year of his new life calamity dealt him a staggering blow in the sudden and unexpected death of his devoted wife. Mrs. M'Clintock united warmth and purity of affection with a calm temper and extraordinary capacity of endurance. In times of trial her firmness was invincible. She entered fully into her husband's pursuits, and, by cheering, lightened his labors. Their home was sunny and happy, a center of attraction to the many friends who came within the circle of its beautiful life. This is what he says about the event:

March 17, 1850.

Two weeks ago yesterday my dear Augusta died. I cannot yet realize it. Every thing wears a strange aspect. A sort of mist seems to hang over every thing. Even streets, houses, and all familiar objects appear thus. I work, work hard, but it seems mechanical and even unreal. Is it not well that this earth is

thus shown to be not our home? By and by we shall be strangers in it as our fathers were, and shall feel our kindred and our home are in heaven above. So one can become a stranger, even in the home of his youth and love, as all that made it home for him vanish into darkness and silence. There, and there only, where Christ is and where our loved ones are, is our continuing city. I did not think she would die soon until a day or two before her end. Nay, on the Thursday I thought she had turned a crisis and would rally. Her fortitude and firmness were so indomitable that never a fear, complaint, or an anxiety escaped her lips. In respect to that quality of endurance I never saw man or woman that approached her. To the last she was more careful of others than of herself.

To recruit his health, Dr. M'Clintock determined on a trip to Europe in the summer of 1850 in company with a number of friends. In Germany he was received with the utmost cordiality by many distinguished professors and theologians, and his trip was in every way a memorably pleasant and beneficial one, although it lasted but a few months.

Notwithstanding the unchallenged excellence of the Review, the wide and eminent reputation he had made for it, his management met with severe criticism from many of his brethren. He was informed that it was not practical; his official directors, the Book Committee, advised him that it was "not sufficiently adapted to the practical and utilitarian tastes of the people." They requested him to change its character accordingly. To all such objections he replied invariably that he was not appointed to edit a magazine or a newspaper; that it was his duty to present to his readers a sound Christian judgment upon the living questions of the age, and that the Quarterly had a distinct work before it—to educate especially the rising ministry. In a circular which he sent to the Conferences, he said to the preachers: "Were my judgment convinced I should at once alter the plan on which I have heretofore conducted the Review; cut out its foreign Literary Intelligence, refuse all profound discussions of metaphysical and other learned subjects, and fill it with biographical articles and papers on fugitive topics. Such a course would save me much expenditure of thought, time, and labor. But I cannot do this with a good conscience." His editorship of the Review ceased in 1856.

My acquaintance with Dr. M'Clintock began when we were

boys, (for our fathers were neighbors,) he a large and I a little one; there was a difference of nine years in our ages. His younger brothers were my playmates. I still vividly remember the round-faced, rosy-cheeked, big boy with the high, broad forehead and the eyes with an ineffable light in them, glancing on all sides, yet looking steadily at every thing and every body, who brought sunshine with him—for there was that in his face and manner which made all about him, even the little fellows, happy. Alert and swift, yet steady, in movement, gay in temper, with music in his voice and laughter, and such a reputation for cleverness and learning, he charmed me as did no other big boy of my acquaintance. We parted and went our several ways, and did not meet again until I too had become a Methodist preacher, when, in 1846, he came to officiate at my marriage. From that day forward our friendship became close and intimate, and I learned to love him with a depth and intensity unequaled in my life save in the case of two other men.

In the spring of 1857, Bishop Simpson and himself were going to Europe as a delegation from the General Conference to the Wesleyan Conference in England, and upon Dr. M'Clintock's invitation I went with them. It was his third visit to the Old World and my first. You must travel with men to know them. Great as had been my admiration and love for the illustrious Bishop and the doctor, these feelings were increased a hundred fold by the experiences of this journey. Together we saw Liverpool, London, Paris, and many another place, and drank deep draughts of joy from the hospitality which was every-where extended to us. The fun we had was boundless, for the doctor's sense of humor was most keen, and even the dignified Bishop enjoys a joke.

Here is a droll bit over which we had a hearty laugh. The Sunday after the doctor and I reached Liverpool, while we were waiting for the Bishop, who sailed from New York two or three days after us, the doctor went to a Wesleyan chapel, dressed as he had been on the ship, and at the close of the morning service entered the vestry-room. The preacher who had officiated, a tall, dignified person, was, after the manner of the time, taking a glass of wine which had been deferentially handed to him by the chapel's steward. The courteous doctor approached, and said in his most bland tone, "The Rev-

erend Mr. ——, I believe." "That is my name," answered the other, with some asperity of manner, "have you business with me? If so, pray state it at once." "None whatever," said the doctor; "I simply called to pay my respects." "Respects, indeed," said the Englishman, somewhat tartly, "and what may be your name?" "M'Clintock," said the doctor. "M'Clintock!" exclaimed the other, with a slight touch of contempt in his tone; "Irish, I see." Then, musing a moment, he added, "Do you happen to be related to the Rev. Dr. M'Clintock who is shortly expected in this country with the American deputation to the Wesleyan body?" "That is my name," said the doctor, bowing. "You Dr. M'Clintock?" exclaimed the Briton, as he held the half-emptied glass in his hand, and a mingled expression of incredulity and amazement overspreading his features, as he rapidly ran his eye over the Doctor from head to foot, surveying the slouch hat in his hand, his blue body-coat, his brown waistcoat showing the shirt front, the brown trousers, pausing longest upon the black neck-tie, and adding, "You Dr. M'Clintock? I never could have believed it!" Recovering a little from his astonishment, the Englishman went on, "Really, if you are the Rev. Dr. M'Clintock, one of the American deputation, you must preach for us at our evening service; but where is the Right Rev. Bishop Simpson?" "He hasn't arrived yet," said the doctor, "we expect him this afternoon." "Then certainly," said the other, "if the Bishop should reach here in time, we shall wish him, as the head of the deputation, to preach; otherwise we shall insist upon your doing so." "It will be quite impossible for me," said the doctor, pointing to his throat, which, by the way, was so seriously affected that he had not spoken in public for many months. "O, that can be easily managed," said John Bull, totally misapprehending his meaning; "you must certainly have a clerical suit in your baggage, and as to the white cravat, I will lend you a fresh one with great pleasure!"

Our English cousins were not then so used to the visits of their Yankee relatives—for they style all Americans Yankees, no matter from what part of the continent they come—as they have since grown to be, and there was something of a disposition to eye their transatlantic kin critically, if not askance. It was supposed by many that all Americans must speak

through their noses and talk bad English; and it was the fashion to stamp "locality, reliable, realize," "to progress," and so forth, and so forth, as American neologisms, therefore vulgarisms, beneath the contempt of good writers and speakers. Webster's dictionary was pooh-poohed as the work of a quack, and Worcester's considered to be no better. Here is an illustrative story over which we had great amusement. I sat one day at the dinner-table with an eminent English divine and scholar of the high conservative type, who, with Mr. Disraeli, was determined, if possible, to resist the tendency to Americanize England; after the cloth had been removed, and the ladies had retired, the talk turned upon good English, and the authorities for its use. "Do you ever refer to Webster?" I asked quite innocently. "Webster!" he answered in a tone of almost ineffable scorn, "do you think we propose to speak and write Yankee English?" "O," I said very meekly, "who is your highest authority?" "Dr. Ogilvie," he replied, with much animation; "his Imperial Dictionary is considered the standard in the Houses of Parliament and the Courts of Westminister, where the best English is spoken, and by all scholars and gentlemen on this side of the water. We use English, not Yankee. None of your Webster for us!" "Have you the book at hand?" I humbly inquired, as became the learner at a great man's feet, and as if I had never heard of it before. "Certainly," he rejoined; "it always lies on my library table." The first volume was sent for, and I said, as if in pursuit of information, "Will you kindly read me the title-page?" He adjusted his glasses and read from the book, "The Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific; Adapted to the Present State of Literature, Science, and Art, on the Basis of Webster's English Dictionary." "Upon my word," he exclaimed, "that is most extraordinary! I never dreamed of that before." Affecting not to observe his confusion, I went on, "Will you be good enough to read me the preface, that I may know what the author claims for his work?" He read steadily until he came to the following sentences, when his voice faltered for a moment; but clearing his throat and taking himself well in hand, with genuine English pluck he went on, "Webster's Dictionary, which forms the basis of this work, is acknowledged, both in this country and in America,

to be not only superior to Johnson's and Richardson's, but to every other dictionary hitherto published. It is more copious in its vocabulary, more correct in its definitions, more comprehensive in its plan, and in the etymological department it stands unrivaled." "Really," said my "high and dry" friend, as he laid down the book and put up his glasses, "really that is the most extraordinary thing I ever heard. There is nothing else for it: the Courts of Westminster and the Houses of Parliament must put the book out, or our language will be corrupted." The fun we had over this and many a similar incident I leave my readers to imagine.

The English Conference sat, in the end of July, that year, in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, a spacious house of worship that would hold several thousand people. It was an imposing body of men, few, if any, more so could be found in the world. The proceedings were marked by great deliberation, decorum, and dignity, yet a frankness and freedom, not to say bluntness, were indulged in by the members, in speaking of and to each other, somewhat startling to us. Few of the Wesleyan preachers had the social status which entitles an Englishman to use the hesitating "Aw, aw, aw," so often heard in the Houses of Parliament and among the upper classes in society. The platform was occupied not only by the president and secretataries, but by all the ex-presidents who happened to be in attendance, and other venerable and eminent men.

The Conference sat with closed doors until the day on which the Bishop and the doctor were received, when time-honored precedent was set aside, the doors thrown open, and an almost suffocating crowd thronged every part of the building. The Bishop, who was the first to speak, could not but be conscious, as he looked over the vast assembly, that, kindly disposed as they might be, there was a barrier to his success, for the hospitality of mind in his hearers was tinctured by a slight distrust and undervaluation of him as an American, undefined it might be, but none the less real and potent. It was a trying moment for the great orator who had achieved so many triumphs in his native land, and he at first seemed almost to falter, while the doctor and I, who sat near at hand, were tremulous, even feverish, dreading lest our champion might fail for the first time in his life on a great occasion. For ten

or fifteen minutes we were kept in most painful suspense; our breath came hard and fast, for the Bishop was hampered and ill at ease, or appeared to be so. It may have been his art, but I think it was genuine embarrassment. Just as we were giving up all for lost, the speaker seemed to forget himself for a moment or two as a happy illustration fell from his lips; his face lighted up, his eye flashed, and every eye in the multitude answered him, and there was a murmur of "Hear, hear," from all over the house. The Bishop's legs were no longer unsteady; he seemed to erect himself above himself; his voice lost its wavering inflections and uncertainty of tone; his sentences flowed freely in clearer and higher form. The speech became earnest, effective, poetic, impassioned, thrilling. The silence was at times oppressive, but relieved at the end of every paragraph, sometimes of a few sentences, by deafening, overwhelming shouts of "Hear, hear! good, good!" English reserve is proverbial, and the mercurial stranger from this side of the water is sure to feel it as a chill most repressive, well-nigh paralyzing. This is true of individuals as well as of great assemblies; but if there be power and heat enough to melt the ice, when the thaw comes it is accompanied by a flood. As there is no private hospitality in the world superior, if equal, to that of England when one has gained a welcome, so there are scarcely any audiences on the earth so responsive, demonstrative, enthusiastic, as the English when they once yield themselves to the spell of a great master. Bishop Simpson has made many great and powerful speeches in the course of his long and brilliant public life, but I doubt if his marvelous strength and magnetic sway over thousands of his fellow-men was ever more signally displayed than in this speech in Brunswick Chapel, except upon one other memorable occasion, when he preached before the Wesleyan Conference some years later at Burslem, when the effect upon the congregation was indescribable, unparalleled in this generation. As the Bishop took his seat the dignitaries upon the platform, the ministers upon the floor, the laity, and the ladies, were in a tumult of excitement, and it was many minutes before the thunders of applause ceased. It was no easy task to follow such a speech. It was a tide which, taken at the flood, would not lead on an ordinary man to fortune, but to be bound in shallows and in miseries;

and as Dr. M'Clintock arose I could not but feel the deepest solicitude. My anxiety for him, however, was soon relieved. His singularly handsome person and engaging manner, noble head, beaming eye, attractive face, mellow and beautiful voice —for he had regained the use of his throat—enlisted the audience on the instant. The rhythmic flow of his perfect English, the luminous statement of his subject, "The State and Prospects of Higher Education in the New World;" his vivid and masterly presentation of it; his melodious tones rising to full sonorous power, every accent, inflection, modulation, controlled by an almost infallible taste, delighting the ear while every mental faculty was charmed and the emotions stirred by the spells of this most accomplished scholar, orator, human-hearted man. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between these two great speakers, each admirable, almost perfect, in his way. The effect of the doctor's speech was as satisfying and profound as that of the Bishop; nothing more can be said. I could have hugged both my friends for joy, and never on English soil felt prouder of my country and my countrymen.

Upon Dr. M'Clintock's return to his native land he took charge of St. Paul's Church, at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second-street, New York, the edifice for which was just then building. His health had been much improved by his sojourn abroad, and he entered upon the first pastoral work he had done since his breaking down in Jersey City more than twenty years before, in the highest spirits and with prodigious power. It is safe to say that no Methodist pastor before his day, or since, has produced so profound an impression upon the thoughtful and cultivated people of the metropolis, or wielded so wide an influence, as did Dr. M'Clintock in the two and a half years of that ministry. His social charms and fascinations for all sorts and conditions of men were as remarkable and exceptional as were the learning, culture, and polish he brought to the pulpit. To the finished manners of an accomplished man of society he added the most sweet, unaffected, spontaneous sympathy which welled up in his great and beautiful soul. His presence in the families of his people was like a burst of sunshine; little children loved him as a father, young people confided in him with absolute trust, old men and women regarded him with a mixture of reverence

and affection. He never brought gloom nor inspired awe, but entered so naturally into the concerns of his flock that he became a most dear and cherished member in every household of his church. He was equally simple and natural in the pulpit. His was the perfection of art, which hid itself so that you never thought of it until afterward. His immense learning was digested, assimilated, never paraded. You had its essence, its aroma, never its husks. His preaching was eminently scriptural and practical; the materials for it were chiefly drawn from the word of God, his own life, and the lives of his fellow-men; while the illustrations came from his omnivorous reading and the creations of his own genius. Nothing could be more simple and direct, at the same time hearty and tender, than his manner; while the style was so crystalline that it never suggested criticism.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that, before the arrangements were completed for him to be appointed to St. Paul's, some of its officers seriously doubted whether his preaching would meet the demands of the place. It was doubted whether he was popular; whether he was brilliant; whether he had force enough; whether he would draw, and so forth and so forth; and it required a good deal of skill and insistance on the part of a few of his friends to satisfy these wise critics that he was the man for the position. Sometimes the pews mold the pulpit; occasionally the pulpit uplifts the pews. His ministry was a liberal education for the spiritual life of his people.

In 1860 he went abroad to take charge of the American Chapel in Paris. In that gay capital his labors were not less distinguished and influential than at home. When the civil war here broke out in 1861, his whole fervid nature was roused to the highest energy, and his brain, tongue, and pen were untiringly given to the cause of the Union. At the very outbreak he made a brilliant and powerful speech in Exeter Hall, London, and spoke with great effect in Paris. He afterward organized the European Branch of the Sanitary Commission, acting as its chairman. His faith as to the success of the Federal cause never wavered, his courage never flagged, nor did he bate a jot of heart or hope even in the darkest days of the struggle. Inspiring numerous pamphlets and newspaper articles, he exerted a powerful influence on that public opinion

which prevented the rulers of France and England from aiding the Confederacy; yet the earnestness of his convictions and the intensity of his devotion hurried him into no bitterness of spirit nor intolerance of conduct toward those from whom he differed. Many Southerners remained in his congregation throughout the war. He visited them as their pastor, comforted their sick, and buried their dead. Later, when the cutting off of communications from home had brought many of them to want, they turned to him with a confidence that was nobly justified by his untiring efforts to relieve them. To the honor of our countrymen, it may be said that he found the hearts and purses of the most loyal Americans open to all such appeals. Wherever he could hear of Americans in trouble or distress of mind, body, or estate, even in prison, he was sure to come, bringing help and comfort. His house was common ground, where all who came laid aside the real or fancied distinctions insisted upon elsewhere. The passing traveler here met the American-Parisian, who seldom visited his native land; active men of business, ministers on their vacations, students of art, medicine or of theology, men of leisure, mingled together, while now and then a chance visitor from England succeeded in provoking and amusing all the rest by his unaccountable inability to understand American affairs.

Returning to New York in the spring of 1864, he again became the pastor of St. Paul's Church, threw himself into the work with his accustomed ardor, but found that his health was giving way, and at the end of a year retired to a farm in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, where he could exchange the pen for a hoe, watch the growth of his fruit, and occupy himself with the little nothings which beguile the hours of an invalid's day. The next year he removed to a farm which he had bought on the banks of the Raritan, near New Brunswick, New Jersey, and where he hoped he was settled for life. In 1867, however, he was called to the Presidency of the Drew Theological Seminary at Madison, N. J., and obliged to make one more removal. Notwithstanding his shattered health he bore many burdens and performed countless labors as chairman of great and important committees in the Church—among them that in charge of the celebration of the Centenary of American Methodism—organizing and opening the seminary,

keeping up a wide correspondence in Europe and America, carrying on the work upon his "Cyclopedia," and many other literary undertakings, large and small. Hoping to gain a longer lease of life, he made another voyage to Europe in the spring of 1869. I met him for the last time that summer in London, when I had the sad foreboding that the end was not far off. In the autumn he again took his place in the classes and management of the seminary, but after a brief illness on the 4th of March, 1870, when less than fifty-six years of age, his long duel with disease and death was closed. "It is all right, it is all right, it is all right!" were his last words. A braver, truer, nobler, sweeter, and tenderer human heart than John M'Clintock's never ceased to beat. Notwithstanding his early death, cut off when he should have been entering upon the fullness of his prime, before the glorious promise of his early and middle life was half fulfilled, I reckon his among the very largest and finest brains that have appeared in American theology and scholarship; certainly the very largest and finest in Methodism, whether of the Old World or the New. His "Cyclopedia," only the third volume of which was published before his death, has now reached its tenth and concluding volume under the pious care of his worthy friend and co-laborer, Dr. Strong. It is a noble monument to his memory, but his best memorial is to be found in the undying effect he wrought in the intellects, hearts, and lives of nearly all the men, women, and children with whom he came in contact. His munificent nature held its boundless wealth subject to the instant draft of all who came to him, and in every thing he was the follower of Him, our great Teacher and Example, who said, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." His gracious life and lovely character were the flower and fruit of the imperishable and universal truth, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

His death made a mighty void in the lives of many friends; in none greater than in my own. It is a gap that will not close till growing winters lay me low.*

* It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt for such material as I have drawn from the life of Dr. M'Clintock by the Rev. Dr. G. R. Crooks.

Art. II.—FLORIDA: ITS PEOPLE AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

Florida ranks among the largest of our States, having an area of nearly sixty thousand square miles. It stretches from the Georgia line southward about four hundred and fifty miles, and the peninsula has an average breadth of nearly a hundred miles, with at no point an elevation above tide-water of over five hundred feet. Its twelve hundred miles of shore line have such shallow waters that few good harbors exist. The surface of the State is, however, pleasantly cut in all directions by navigable rivers, and lakes favoring internal travel and commerce. Its lands, classified as swamp, savanna, low hummock, high hummock, and pine, embrace a fertility and adaptation not surpassed, if indeed equaled, in America. Its pine forests are majestic and park-like, rich in choice lumber, and in its hummocks grow the cypress, the red, live, and water oak, the hickory, magnolia, bay, gum, palmetto, dogwood, and other varieties. There are numerous mineral springs scattered through the State, and its subterranean streams are truly marvelous. The rain-fall and the watershed of the State are not sufficient to account for the abundant lakes and rivers, these being supplemented by enormous fountains bursting up through the limestone crust, sometimes forming navigable streams at their fountain heads, with waters so deep and blue as to be objects of perpetual study and wonder. The swamp and "waste" lands of Florida are not as extensive as was formerly supposed, and its relative acreage of productive soil compares favorably with any of the Middle or Eastern States. Nearly all the lakes and rivers are skirted with belts of hummock land often rich to the last degree of fertility, covered with ponderous forests hung with wild vines and fringed with moss.

The pine lands vastly predominate, and bid fair to become the most prized and useful part of it. These are easily cleared and subdued, are healthful, with sightly eminences for building places, their soil, when moderately fertilized, being quick and well adapted to every agricultural and horticultural use. The chief rivers are the St. John's, a long, broad, imposing stream of a thousand miles; the Indian River, a narrow lagoon on the

eastern coast; the Ocklawaha, the most crooked and weird stream on the globe; the Appalachicola, the Ocklochonnee, the Perdido, the St. Mary's, the Suwanee, the Hillsborough, the Withlacoochee, the Kissimmee, and the Caloosahatchie. Its chief lakes are Orange, Eustis, Griffin, Harris, Apopka, Monroe, George, Jackson, Santa Fé, Pansoffkee, Butler, Tohopekaliga, Cypress, Marianna, and Okeechobee, besides a legion of smaller ones scattered throughout the center of the entire peninsula. These sparkling bodies of pure soft water abound with fish of great size, and the forests with game.

The Florida peninsula lies in the exact latitude of northern Mexico, Central Arabia, Hindustan, and China, but it has a climate entirely different and vastly more enjoyable than any of those countries. To one reared in the Northern States it seems at first absurd to suppose that human life below the twenty-ninth parallel can be rendered truly enjoyable during all the seasons of the year. Peninsular Florida is in its climate singularly unlike every thing else in America. It has more rain and less cold than Southern California, and is never scalded by such heated waves as are of annual occurrence as far north as the city of Albany. The insular position of this narrow belt of country, extending southward between vast bodies of salt water, washed along its entire eastern border by the Gulf Stream, and on its western by the equally tropical waters of the Gulf of Mexico, renders winter in any severe sense quite impossible. And the alleviations from excessive heats are equally marked. The humidity of the atmosphere, favored by abundant inland lakes and forests, the constant sea breezes, resulting from this proximity to vast oceanic currents, the sweep of the trade-winds, and the usual local aerial disturbances, breathe through this entire region a moist, agreeable, pure, but modified sea atmosphere. The storms are not usually severe. The sun comes close over head at mid-day with fire in its ray, but a slight shade amid such a breeze affords the condition of comfort. Sunstrokes are entirely uncommon, and laboring men from any part of the world pursue out-door toils the entire year with impunity.

Florida is coming to be recognized as the sanitarium of America. A discerning military chieftain who had examined all the Indian tribes of the country, declared years ago that the

Florida Seminoles possessed the finest physique of them all. There are scarcely any chronic diseases found among families who have resided a dozen years in the State. There is a gratifying relief from rheumatism, neuralgia, catarrh, asthma, bronchitis, diphtheria, cholera, small-pox, measles, malignant fevers, and pulmonary consumption. Hydrophobia is not heard of. Some light types of a few of the above-named diseases may occur, but they are unusual. Lime being an omnipresent factor in the substratum of the soil, existing in solid blocks through the stony districts, in the vast unmeasured marl-beds, and in more subtile compounds, we see a natural cause for the absence of miasma, and for a soil of wondrous fertility. The salubrity of this district is further augmented by a dry, porous soil, bright sunshine, pure sea atmosphere, equable temperature admitting of open-air pursuits every day of the year, and the facilities for a varied diet of fresh vegetables and fruits. Climatic changes produce much of the sickness of the world. Two sevenths of all deaths are said to result from pulmonary troubles, and statistics show that phthisis steadily decreases from Maine to Florida. People dwelling in a climate that rarely produces a frost, and where the mercury seldom reaches ninety-five, are not much afflicted by climatic exposures. Florida has its low malarial districts where "chills and fever" reign, but the high pine ridges with their balsamic breezes are cheerful and salubrious above every thing else yet found.

Colonies began the work of settlement in Florida forty-two years earlier than at Jamestown, and fifty-five years earlier than at Plymouth. But for two long centuries it was the football and trading stock of tyrants and the lurking place of pirates. In 1819 it was ceded to the United States, but was not advanced to the dignity of a State until 1845. An effort to remove the Indians beyond the Mississippi on the part of the United States Government led to the bloody and expensive Seminole War, which dragged its weary length from 1835 to 1842, and retarded the settlement of this fair district for a generation. In 1861, like its contiguous sister States, it seceded, and lay for several years the battle-ground of contending forces. A reconstructed State government began its reign July 4, 1868, so that the State has enjoyed only fourteen years for free and proper development.

Previous to the war of '61, though sparsely populated, it was a slave State, and made some progress in the prevailing southern industries of that period. In its northern counties, (the Tallahassee region,) settled by many cultured families from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, were many extensive cotton plantations, yielding a bale to the acre of the famous sea-island variety, requiring the toil of a negro for the production of each bale. Along the St. John's, the Indian River, around the great lakes of Sumter County, and elsewhere, the rich hummocks were cleared for the production of the sugar-cane. On the gulf coast, in the region of Manatee, was the Gamble, afterward known as the Cofield and Davis plantation, the most extensive and best-equipped sugar plantation in Florida. Fourteen hundred acres of rich hummock land had been cleared at an expense of seventy-five dollars per acre, and inclosed in one field of cane, which was worked by two hundred slaves. A sugar refinery, with all needed appliances, costing half a million, completed the outfit. All these large enterprises collapsed with emancipation, and many of the proprietors left the State. The partially grown forests on these rich bottoms, and the ruins of vast structures, with shattered machinery, tell the tale of the past.

Florida has no large cities, but it has many rising, interesting towns. St. Augustine, founded by the Spaniards fifty-five years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, with its narrow, crooked, shell-paved streets, its ancient structures and sea-wall of coquina stone, its old cathedral, its gates of wood three hundred years old, is an interesting point. Jacksonville, near the mouth of the St. John's, and the *entrepôt* to that part of the State, is the largest and most city-like of all its towns. Its streets, though not paved, are well arranged, well lighted, and lined with neat, and, in some parts, with massive, structures. There are many large hotels and business houses, with good churches and schools. The population is so cosmopolitan that the stranger coming from any place in America feels himself at home. This is destined to become a very large and prosperous business center. For a hundred miles up the St. John's River are scattered in close proximity neat little towns, Palatka, with a population of about fifteen hundred, being the largest. Gainesville, on the line of the Transit Railroad, with a popula-

tion of nearly two thousand, and containing the United States Land Office for the State, is a pleasant, modern-built town. Fernandina on Amelia Island, and Cedar Keys on the Gulf, one hundred and fifty miles apart, form the termini of the Transit Railroad, the former being a large, thriving seaport town, and the latter, though not large, is still the theater of a very considerable wholesale trade. Tallahassee, the capital of the State, founded in 1821, is situated on a cluster of hills, with old, substantial structures, stately trees, and the best-kept flower gardens of the sunny South. Key West, the most southern United States town, claims to be the largest in Florida. It stands beside the track of all the steamship lines running to and from Mexico, Central America, Texas, and all the gulf coast cities. It is only eight hours' sail from Havana. The buildings, nearly all one-story structures, are painted white. Aside from the government dock, barracks, and fortifications, cigar manufacture attracts the greatest attention. Over eighty licensed cigar manufactories are in operation, producing at present thirty-five million cigars annually. Tampa, Ocala, Sanford, Orlando, and Leesburg, are all rapidly rising towns, the latter having more than doubled its population and commerce during the last two years. The architecture throughout the State is generally plain and simple, and a two-story house outside of large towns is the exception. The climate is so mild that any structure that sheds rain is comfortable, so that a house thoroughly well finished and furnished is rarely found. And as there are no demands for housing cattle and fodder, barns are smaller and more meager than houses. But what is lacking in architecture is usually made up in plants, flowers, and rare trees. The swamps, hummocks, and pine ridges abound with wild flowers of great beauty. Nothing is richer than the pure, white, waxy flower of the magnolia-tree, perhaps ten inches in diameter, blooming in the forest forty feet above the soil. The pond-lily, the climbing yellow jessamine, with its golden bells; the woodbine, with its crimson clusters; the flaming Virginia trumpet-creeper, and many others, need only to be seen to be admired. In the cultivated yards are seen the domesticated lilies "arrayed" in all their glory, violets, geraniums, cactuses, the century plant, with its long, thick, sword-shaped leaves, and which blooms but once

and dies; the cape jessamine, the white and the pink oleander, the Spanish bayonet, the India-rubber tree, and a profusion of roses that bloom every day of the year. The useful plants and trees, hereafter described, form a sort of outside circle to the grounds, and are themselves specimens of the rarest beauty, rendering a well-cultivated Florida home a very Eden of loveliness.

In the matter of politics, Florida is about evenly divided between the two great parties, the State being usually, for a considerable period before and after the elections, claimed by both. It has no "third party" issues, no burdensome debt, no war of races, is not disturbed with the Chinese, the Granger, or the tariff question, and hence enjoys as great political quiet as any State in the Union. Two thirds of the people are so absorbed in their improvements that they never mention politics. The State being the winter visiting-house of the nation during one third of the year, forms thereby a middle-ground for the neighborly interchange of sentiment, and is doing practically more to harmonize the conflicting interests of North and South than any other of the States. It is eminently a place of free thought, free speech, free ballot, and affords in all respects as much protection to opinion, property, and life as any State of corresponding population. Its vast forests and genial climate afford the means of escape to an occasional miscreant, who can subsist for almost any period outside of the bounds of civilization. The State has a liberal constitution, (susceptible of improvements which time will introduce,) and has been presided over by enlightened governors. Its school system, though not perfect, is still a century in advance of the old-time Southern State. All the Church denominations have a foothold in the State, and are rapidly multiplying edifices and Sunday-schools.

Some of the old-style Floridians form the most contented and conservative class on the continent. Like the early Dutch of New York, who seized all the rich "flats" along the Hudson and the Mohawk, so these in many instances have taken the rich hummocks of the interior, avoiding usually the margins of lakes and rivers, providentially leaving these centers of influence for a more progressive population. Beginning when the country was in its rudest condition, they erected

cheap log hovels for their residences, splitting materials for floors and roofs from the trees of the forest. Their houses often consist of a single room, with an outside fireplace for cooking food. Poultry, hogs, and horses stand around their doors, the hens leaving their eggs under their tables or on their beds, the swine sleeping under their houses. That saw-mills now afford plenty of good, cheap lumber is nothing to them—they are contented as they are. A pony or mule with rope lines, chain traces, a two-wheel cart, an ax, a plow, and a hoe, comprise most of their highway and farming utensils. In a region where cattle thrive all the year without fodder they live all their days without milk or butter. Though vegetables could be grown all the year for the table, they seldom have any thing but sweet potatoes, and these less than half the year. In a climate like Palestine, where all the fruits of the globe may be matured, they spend their years with an occasional dish of wild berries, persimmons, or plums. They are generally skillful anglers and "mighty hunters," and woe to the poor animal when one of these falls in his wake. Going to town is quite an affair with them, as the store is often forty miles away. The cart, moderately loaded with produce for the market, containing also corn for the beast, with provision and blankets for several nights of camping-out; the proprietor astride the mule, and some members of his family in the cart behind him, make up the interesting procession. That neighbors of recent settlement on the "poorest lands" have beautiful yards, fruitful gardens, and orange groves bending with abundance, suggests nothing worthy of consideration to this conservative class.

A new era, with steadily increasing brightness and promise, has dawned on Florida during the last fifteen years. The abolition of slavery, leaving vast deserted plantations, the exquisite beauty of the country, its equable climate, general salubrity, and the wealth of its native and cultivated products, began, about the close of the war, to attract the attention of soldiers and tourists. New settlements and towns have been springing up with great rapidity in all parts of the State for a number of years, and the signs of promise are now very numerous for the speedy cultivation of its entire territory. About a year and a half ago, Mr. Hamilton Disston, of Philadelphia, associating with himself a few capitalists, purchased

of the State government four million acres of unimproved lands, situated in the counties of Orange, Sumter, Polk, Hernando, Manatee, and Hillsborough. The State received for the same one million dollars, which sum was given to the treasury for internal improvements. A few months after this purchase the Disston Company sold to an English and Dutch company, headed by Sir Edward Reed, M.P., two million acres of this land for one million dollars, thus recovering all the money invested, leaving them in possession also of half the land. These two wealthy, influential companies now vie with each other for the speedy settlement and development of their vast tracts. The Reed company has purchased the half-constructed broad-gauge railroad extending from Waldo to Tampa, and have turned its course from Leesburg to Indian River, promising its early completion. Large colonies from England and the Low Countries are expected to soon make the ax and hammer heard in these forests. The Disston company, with its head-quarters in Philadelphia, and numerous branch offices, are also certain to introduce a large industrious class from Pennsylvania and the other States. New railroads connecting the lower St. John's (Atlantic side) with Tampa and Charlotte Harbor, (Gulf side,) with branches extending to the great lines in Georgia and Alabama, are being rapidly constructed to meet the demands of transportation, thus opening to pleasant settlement the entire peninsula. This steady march of great internal improvements has opened the eyes of capitalists, and wealthy speculators, accompanied by skilled engineers, have penetrated every part of the State, purchasing vast tracts of fertile soil.

A project to connect Key West by rail with the great trunk lines of the North is much discussed, and is pronounced by engineers entirely feasible. It has only narrow passes and shallow channels to cross between Cape Sable and the numerous keys leading to its termination. Should this be completed, that portion of the immense travel and traffic between the United States and the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America which seeks rapid transit and desires to avoid the dangers that attend a water passage around the Bahamas and the Florida Reefs, would be turned through peninsular Florida, and the golden dreams of the greatest visionary would be more

than realized. One of the wealthiest companies in the Union has taken the charter, and the engineers have surveyed the route on the line of Palatka and Punta Rassa.

The "Florida Ship Canal" project is a proposition to connect the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea in a straight line across the peninsula, and is a matter of such vast national importance that its construction cannot long be delayed. Surveys have been made by order of Congress and by the Disston company. This route would put the United States Government in easy condition to defend its territory on the Gulf coast; it would avoid the present hazards of the Gulf Stream, which has cost shippers along the Florida coast five millions during the last ten years; it would greatly shorten the time and sailing distance from all Atlantic ports and of Europe to and from the ports of the Gulf and of the Caribbean Sea. It is estimated that two hundred million dollars' worth of produce perishes annually in the heart of our country for want of suitable means of transportation. The Government is improving the Mississippi River, and by the construction of this ship canal an outlet to the Atlantic and the European markets would be established. The Russian Government has already declared that the opening of this canal will cheapen the transportation of grain from the Mississippi Valley to Europe more than fifty per cent., and that it will give the United States the absolute control of the grain market of the world, driving completely Russian cereals out of the markets of Western Europe. The Disston company, in their dredgings near Okechobee, claim to be making this canal, but it cannot be supposed that a corporation undertaking another scheme will accomplish this. The enlargement of the Okechobee canal will perhaps result in the ship canal. Its speedy construction is inevitable, and will be attended with great results to Florida.

Another immense scheme of internal improvement likely to greatly benefit the State is that undertaken by the "Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okechobee Land Company." This company was chartered by the legislature with a capital of ten millions, in 1881. It proposes to open a steamboat canal along the eastern coast of the State by such excavations as shall connect Mantanzas, Halifax River, and Mosquito Inlet

with Indian River and Lake Worth, so that three hundred and thirty miles of inland steam navigation will be obtained; and also to connect Lake Tahopekaliga with the Kissimmee River, thus opening a line of navigation from Orange County to Lake Okechobee. But its greatest scheme is the partial draining of Lake Okechobee. This lake is forty miles in length and twenty-five in breadth, covering an area of more than a thousand square miles, and has no natural outlet. It receives the waters from a number of lakes brought down by the Kissimmee River, also by Taylor's, Fish Eating, and by several nameless creeks, which vary from twenty to one hundred and fifty feet in width each. Lake Okechobee is twenty-five feet above tide-water. During eight months of the year the inflowing waters escape by evaporation, filtration, or by underground channels, so that the surrounding country is a wild pasturage. During the rainy season the waters back in these streams, overflowing and rendering unfit for cultivation at least half a million acres of the richest land in America. The company is to receive half of all the land reclaimed. The work is now going forward rapidly. Dredge-boats of great excavating capacity are cutting the channel to this inland sea, and expect to soon connect it by deep canals with tide-water on both the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts.

This immense enterprise, now so nearly completed, will be soon followed by the draining of much of that portion of the State known as the Everglades. This vast tract (the present abode of some three hundred Seminoles, the last of the tribe) is not an irreclaimable marsh, as was once supposed, but is a rich, prairie-like region, covered with pure, shallow water, of from three to forty inches deep, studded with a profusion of beautiful green islands. It has been ascertained that the basin of the Everglades is seven feet above tide-water, and that the waters are held over this vast tract by an outside narrow rim of coral rock, admitting of artificial drainage at no great expense. The State has recently ratified a contract for this undertaking, which, if completed, will open for sugar and cotton cultivation millions of acres of rich territory. The sugar-cane planters of Cuba are watching with great interest these projected improvements. Other organized companies, such as a "Timber Company," to handle the valuable lumber of Florida,

companies for the establishment of starch manufactories, rice mills, etc., give evidence on every hand that a period of bustling activity has at last dawned on this Florida wilderness. But the chief hope of the State lies in the high character of the families now so rapidly pressing into it. The early craze of searching for a bonanza and deserting in disappointment has passed, and the adventurous classes have turned their feet to other haunts. Sober, studious people of American birth, who know what they are in search of, most of them in middle life and with means to purchase or make their improvements, are now crowding all the lines of travel. Thrifty, genial families from the North, East, West, and from the Southern States, are mingled every-where. One will find as choice society in Duval, Volusia, and Orange Counties, and around all the great lakes of Sumter County, as can be found in America. One very noticeable feature, also, is the success of literary and professional men. In nearly every community will be found a clergyman, lawyer, physician, teacher, or some other specialist, who has failed in health and fled to the sunny wilds of Florida to save his life. The world long since voted every minister a *failure* outside of his pulpit, and every physician outside of his practice. Florida has afforded the theater for the reversal of this verdict. The production of the tropical and semi-tropical fruits of Florida belongs so emphatically to the realm of skilled labor, that these gentlemen have possessed just the genius for success. Besides wielding a large intellectual and moral influence every-where, they have the finest yards, gardens, and orange groves in their localities. One could almost say, in the language of the "street," "There is not a lame duck among them."

As the State extends four hundred and fifty miles north and south, it affords considerable variety in the matter of climate. A late writer has very well said, "There are three Floridas." But the frost-line, so often mentioned in print, is an imaginary something that does not exist on either the mainland or the peninsula. The truth is, that a few times in a century frost is felt to the lowest point of the peninsula, though its damaging effect is steadily lessened in its march southward. In 1835 full-grown orange-trees were killed by frost at St. Augustine, and others greatly injured below Tampa. The climate,

all over the State, is simply charming, being colder in winter and warmer in summer on the mainland. In locating, one should simply decide what he wishes to cultivate. The fruits of the temperate zone thrive best in the northern sections, and there are no objectionable cold seasons there to one reared in higher latitudes. The citrus family and the complete range of semi-tropical productions succeed best in the lake region, or, to speak liberally, in that peninsular belt extending from Orange Lake to Tampa. This is the true home of the orange. All the truly tropical productions, such as the banana, the coffee-plant, the plantain, the sugar-apple, the alligator-pear, and the cocoa-nut, are more certain on the extreme southern portion of the peninsula. The first view of Florida is often disappointing—the visitor wearies of too much sand—but a prolonged examination is reassuring. Beyond all dispute it is a wondrous district. It may not be compared with the rugged grandeur of mountainous districts, with dashing cascades and picturesque valleys, or with the appalling cañons of the Yellowstone, but is there no sublimity in beholding nature in repose, holding in her hand the wealth of a sub-tropical clime adorned with perpetual verdure and bloom? After all the jeering of the Florida sand-bank, it is found that no soil on the globe is more susceptible to the attentions of industrial art. Florida is a land of great productions. On Lake Pansoffkee stands a live-oak tree twelve feet in diameter, and the spreading top of another at Drake Point, on Lake Harris, measures one hundred and fifty-two feet in diameter. Wild grape-vines six inches in diameter grow in her forests, and a cultivated vine at Orange Bend covers one fourth of an acre. A rose-bush at Tallahassee is twelve feet high, and its trunk as many inches in thickness. A peach-tree near Orange City has a top seventy feet in diameter, and peaches in Leon County have been plucked weighing twelve ounces each. A cabbage-head raised at Fort Meyers weighed forty pounds, and at any of the fairs can be seen single cassava roots weighing often seventy pounds, beets and radishes two feet long, garden turnips weighing eight or ten pounds, melons and squashes weighing from forty to seventy pounds, and every thing else from the garden and farm of a corresponding proportion. It only requires time and a display of that adaptive persistence known the world over as "Yankee

genius," to convert Florida into one of the richest States of the American Union. The State is rich in wealth in almost every form. In the item of timber it excels every other State both in volume and variety. From its live-oak are constructed the strongest hulls of the American navy, and its pine is admired in the finish of the richest palace. But, in addition to strength, its wood is susceptible of the highest finish. Along the peninsula and on the keys grow the magnolia, bay, lignum vitæ, mahogany, crab-wood, dog-wood, mangrove, krale, torch-wood, poison-wood, palm, tamarind, gumaliba, mastic, hickory, white-wood, button-wood, gum, maple, cypress, and spice-wood. Its cedar furnishes about all the pencil timber used in the country. The present pursuits, embracing cotton, cane, cereals, gardening, cattle, and the rarest fruits of the globe, do not at all exhaust her abilities. Other sources of wealth, too numerous to mention, which will some day yield abundant incomes, are slumbering on every hand. A much larger number of productive industries than exist in any other State is spread before the settler in Florida. One very profitable enterprise hitherto has been the cattle range. Taking possession of the moist districts in the green forests, the ranger simply brands and watches his flock until it multiplies into vast proportions. One man in Monroe County recently paid taxes on fifteen thousand head, and one family on thirty thousand head. In Brevard County are forest ranges where one can ride on horse three days without meeting any trace of civilization. Here are found "cattle men" living on horseback, camping in little cabins, cooking their own food, and owning five or seven thousand cattle each. The ranger records his brand and mark at his county seat, brands the young calves, and is thus able to distinguish and claim his property. These men lead a wild life, separated from family and society, but they are contented and hardy, and they amass fortune. Five men will guard as many thousand cattle. These cattle are mostly shipped to Cuba for beef, and net the owner from five to fifteen dollars per head. The common Florida cow is a small milker, but her milk is rich and pure. She feeds on wild grasses only, and receives no care. The abundant forests and lakes still afford, through the best cultivated districts of the State, opportunities for small flocks of cattle, which thrive and multiply

without feeding, giving an annual return of thirty or fifty per cent. on the investment. Sheep-raising is another remunerative industry. In districts where cattle thrive sheep invariably do well. In addition to the native variety, the merino, southdown, and cotswold are kept. Sheep are sheared in April and September, and with a little watching are made to yield a return of one hundred per cent. on the investment. Horse-raising is also profitable. Horses are scarce, and bring large prices. An ordinary one brings a hundred dollars, and a choice one much more. Breeding horses, like cattle and sheep, live all the year in the wild ranch. Colts graze in the forests until large enough for use, when they are sold for good prices. Swine in great numbers roam abroad, fattening on acorns and palmettos, sometimes attaining great size. But as wild swine never make marketable pork, it is a question whether the State would not be richer if all its wild swine were "choked" in the sea. Florida is specially adapted to poultry. Its small lakes, with their green banks, afford an Eden for ducks and geese. Pease, which are almost indigenous to the soil, afford the richest living for turkeys and hens, and can be grown all the year. The intelligent owner of a poultry-yard may, therefore, enlarge his enterprise to any extent with the assurance of ample reward. The production of honey, by the keeping and breeding of bees, is also remunerative, affording a livelihood where it is pursued as a business. Bees are said to thrive best near large waters.

The northern sections of Florida, known as the mainland, are probably best adapted to the growth of the cereals, and to all ordinary farming. The sandy soil rests on a red-clay subsoil, at from six to twenty-four inches beneath the surface, and in some places the soil is a rich vegetable mold. This thin soil sods more readily with the cultivated grasses than the deeper sands of the peninsula, and holds nearer the surface the fertilizers applied, giving the appearance of greater fertility. While Florida cannot at all compete with the great West in the production of bushels, still the Floridian can beat his western neighbor in the cash returns per acre. The western man raises sixty bushels of corn per acre, sells it at twenty cents, and realizes twelve dollars; the Florida farmer fifteen or twenty bushels, which bring at his barn as many dollars. Corn

is a successful crop all over the State, and in the richest lands the yield is not exceeded in any part of the world. Wheat is not much grown, but oats, rye, millet, pease, and a variety of ground nuts are very successful. But little forage (hay) is needed, and in the absence of timothy, pease, cured at the right time, upland rice, preserved in the straw. Corn fodder, the green leaves stripped and dried, and a variety of native and cultivated grasses, furnish an abundant supply. Upland rice yields sixty bushels per acre, and sells in its uncleaned state at one dollar per bushel. With the establishment of convenient rice-mills this would become one of our leading industries. Sweet potatoes are every-where a safe and remunerative crop, yielding from one hundred to four hundred bushels per acre, and are of a superior quality. Irish potatoes do moderately well and grow best in the winter, maturing just in time for the early Northern market. But the melon just revels in the Florida soil. It is almost indigenous, and when once planted in a plowed field it continues to propagate itself from year to year. A single vine, self-planted, will sometimes spread densely over a plot thirty feet in diameter, yielding fifteen or twenty melons, several of them weighing thirty pounds each. In the Lake Region they mature regularly from May to November, and are of a superior flavor. Long-staple or sea-island cotton is successfully cultivated all through the State. This famous variety, used in the manufacture of our best thread, in admixtures with silk and in all the finest uses, was grown chiefly for many years on the islands bordering on South Carolina and Georgia. The larger portion of it is now grown in Florida. Cotton culture is still one of the leading industries of the State, and bids fair to be much revived. Sorghum was much grown here during the war, as was also tobacco. Sorghum has now yielded to the more remunerative plant, the sugar-cane, which in the rich hummock often attains a height of twelve or twenty feet, maturing a rich tassel, such as not seen in any other American State. The cane requires a rich soil, about the same amount of cultivation as corn, and yields an average of perhaps one hundred dollars per acre in sugar and syrup. In planting, about four thousand stalks, three feet long, and which cost five dollars per thousand, are used per acre. These are covered in furrows. They rattoon (put out annually

a new crop from the old roots) for three years, and in some fields for ten years. The cane is planted in the early spring, worked two or three times, cut and converted into sugar in the fall. Hitherto Louisiana has produced most of the sugar manufactured in the United States. Her soil is becoming exhausted, and she has never been able to meet the national demand. The importance of this single production as affecting the wealth of a country will appear from the following statement: The import duties on sugar and allied products between 1847 and 1879 in the United States amounted to eighteen hundred million dollars. Our Western mines during the same period produced in precious metals seventeen hundred millions. So that in thirty-two years, for a single article of family consumption, the nation expended, in *duties* only, one hundred millions more than the bullion gathered from all our mines. With the draining of South Florida a belt of soil identical with that of Cuba and Louisiana, and an area unequaled by any country on the globe, will be opened for this remunerative industry. Market gardening has within a few years, also, grown into a towering business. It is prosecuted with success in all parts of the State, the different localities vying with each other in the production of the entire range of table vegetables for the Northern and Western markets. At single inland shipping points the increase in two years has been from five hundred to fifty thousand crates. The Florida gardener can sell most of his products at a large price before one in Carolina, Delaware, or Jersey has any thing grown, and a barrel of vegetables in March brings more in New York than a cart-load in October. Key West and the neighboring islands, between January and April of this year, shipped a hundred thousand crates of tomatoes. The production of early strawberries is another rising industry. The berries are carried to New York in refrigerator cars, and enter the market in perfect condition. A thousand dollars per acre have frequently been realized. Florida is the only State in the Union that has ever grown a pound of coffee. A widow lady at Manatee, in 1876, planted some coffee-seed received from Mexico, and in February, 1880, sent to the Agricultural Department at Washington the first pound grown in the country, for which she received ten dollars. She is enlarging the

business and her neighbors are planting coffee-seed. It can be grown with success in the extreme southern portions of the peninsula. Ginger, pepper, cinnamon, pimento, and cloves, can also be readily grown. Grapes succeed well all over the State. The black and the white Hamburg, the Muscat, Hartford Prolific, the Delaware, Concord, Ives, Hibiscus, Scuppernong, and the Flaming Tokay of California are the leading varieties. The writer saw fourteen varieties in one field, all growing vigorously. The Scuppernong is the most vigorous and long-lived. A gentleman on the Withlacoochee River made one hundred and fifty gallons of wine from the grapes that grew on two vines. The pineapple grows in South Florida to great size. Four or five thousand can be cultivated on an acre of rich soil. Though a tropical plant, it is easily protected from cold by a slight covering of moss, and succeeds as far north as St. Augustine. It is propagated by sprouts taken from the ripe apple, and suckers from the stalk, yielding fruit the second year, and after the fruit is cut the root yields a second and often a double crop. Two thousand dollars have been realized from the fruit of a single acre. Key Largo ships to New York annually about thirty-six thousand pineapples. The banana, another tropical plant, is seen in every county in Florida, growing from ten to twenty feet high, with graceful, translucent leaves, often eight feet long and two feet wide, forming a pleasing garden ornament. This is essentially a water plant, a most rapid grower, and, in a rich soil protected from frost, a most prolific bearer. One has said that an acre of bananas will yield as much food as forty-five acres of Irish potatoes. It never requires a second planting, and the seed roots are not expensive. It yields with tolerable regularity as far north as the twenty-ninth parallel; but to make it a regular and certain business one should plant on the extreme southern portions of the peninsula. The planting of the cocoanut began about five years ago in Monroe County. One gentleman planted twenty-six hundred and forty, and every one grew and is now maturing into a fine tree. A cocoanut tree grows with little care, and comes into full bearing in ten or twelve years, when it yields three or four hundred nuts annually. These sell at from one to three cents apiece on the tree, and the business is considered so hopeful that many extensive

groves are being planted. The guava, trained in the form of a large bush, and growing to greater size than the northern quince, comes into bearing in two or three years from the seed, yielding a delicious dessert fruit. In size the guava resembles the quince, in flavor the peach, and in its abundance of seeds the tomato. It is a tropical tree, but more hardy varieties are being introduced. The fruit is a favorite in all families, and from it is manufactured one of the best-flavored jellies of commerce. The tree thrives in ordinary soil, and in warm, sheltered localities guava culture is profitable as far north as the twenty-ninth parallel. The papaw-tree grows to the height of thirty feet, has a soft, herbaceous trunk with limbs and large leaves bursting out near the top. It yields fruit as large as a musk-melon the second year from the seed. The mulberry is a prodigy of rapid growth, valuable for shade and ornament, yielding a wholesome fruit, resembling the blackberry. The prune and apricot, species of plums, though not much cultivated, may be grown with success and profit. Two varieties of the pomegranate-tree are grown, which are highly ornamental, with rich foliage and beautiful crimson flowers and fruit. It excels all fruit in the number of its seeds; but these have a fleshy-pink covering with flavor resembling the red currant. The juice mingled with water and sugar makes a superior beverage. Plums grow wild in the hummocks, and several cultivated varieties are grown; the Japan, whose fruit has a creamy-white coloring and a sub-acid, pleasing flavor, is the most prized. The persimmon grows wild, yielding fair fruit, and is now being budded from the Japan variety, which is a great improvement. The soft-shell almond begins to bear at five years from the seed, and continues to increase in size for fifteen years. The olive-tree and the pecan thrive perfectly in the sands of Florida, coming into bearing at ten years, and continuing to a hoary age. They grow with little care on well-selected plots of unimproved land. Several varieties of the apple are found in the State yielding some fruit; but this tree requires a colder climate and can scarcely be counted a success. The peach-tree attains great size, and in the northern counties yields an abundance of choice marketable fruit; but as it descends the peninsula its fruitage becomes more and more uncertain until it gets beyond

frost, where it becomes an evergreen and ceases to bear. The amsden, honey, alexander and pean-to (the flat China peach) are the shipping varieties ripening in the early summer. A cold winter that destroys pineapples is invariably followed by a large yield of peaches. The quince grows to a large tree, and yields abundantly. Several varieties of the pear are cultivated. The sand pear and the alligator pear are much prized, and the Le Cont is certainly an extraordinary fruit. The original tree came from Prince's nursery at Flushing, Long Island, in 1840, and had been accidentally hybridized there. It was transplanted in a garden in Georgia, and supposed to be the sand pear, until it began to yield fruit. It was then discovered to be a new and greatly improved variety, and was named after its new owner. The fruit is large and luscious, and the tree long-lived and prolific. The date-palm, a tree of slow growth, but of wondrous symmetry and beauty, yields well after patient cultivation. Its trunk resembles the cabbage palmetto, with long, green, pointed branches. The fig is a great success in Florida. Propagated from cuttings, it fruits in two years, and yields almost perennially for half a century. In the drying, pickling, and preserving of fruits and vegetables, and in the manufacture of jellies, starch, tapioca, etc., Florida is rich in opportunities.

Last, though not least, we mention the citrus family. This includes the orange, lemon, lime, shaddock, grape fruit, citron, and all similar fruits. Whether this rare family of trees, embracing the choicest fruits of the globe, is indigenous to the Florida soil, or whether the seeds were introduced by the Spaniards or by prehistoric hands, historians have not certainly ascertained. As the Seville orange was extensively grown in Spain at the period of their Florida conquests, it is probable that they introduced the seed here, which, growing wild for several centuries, has deteriorated into the present sour-orange tree. Wild orange-trees in great numbers were found in Florida growing in the unbroken wilds, mostly on moist hummock land, and chiefly between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degrees of latitude. The largest wild grove in the State was at Orange Lake, covering several hundred acres, and the next largest was on the peninsula separating Lake Griffin from Lake Harris. Others were found at Lakes Weir, Bryant,

Dunham, Pansoffkee, Jessup, George, Apopka, along the banks of the St. John's and of several other rivers. Some of these were greatly injured by the ante-bellum cotton-growing population in preparing the rich hummocks for their favorite crop. Nearly all the wild groves of the State have been budded, and are now yielding sweet oranges. These groves are improved by cutting and piling such of the forest trees as can be felled without injuring the orange-trees, after which the orange-trees are cut off several feet above the ground. In about a month after they are cut off, and when the shoots begin to start from the stumps, buds from a sweet tree are inserted under the bark through an incision. Two or three weeks later the sour sprouts are carefully taken off, and the bud, thus receiving the entire flow of sap, grows rapidly, and sometimes yields fruit the second year. Nearly all the families that were wise enough to purchase and improve a wild grove have amassed fortune. Five hundred dollars have sometimes thus swollen into fifty thousand. The trees in the wild groves grew in such proximity that transplanting was a necessity, and thousands of acres have been set with these budded sour stumps. Having grown all their years in moist hummock land, they succeed well when transplanted in similar soil, but they are not a success when planted on dry pine ridges. But before the improvement of the wild grove began the orange business had its beginnings in Florida. Seeds and a few roots, at intervals, were brought from orange-growing countries, so that scattered trees yielding sweet fruit grew in widely separated localities. A young man from North Carolina, in 1847, gathered orange seed from sale fruit at Charleston, which he planted by Lake Harris, in Sumter County, and from this planting was set the old grove at Yalaha, the first in the now famous Lake Region. A grove in Leon County was planted about the same time, as was also the Dummit grove on Indian River. The famous Gwinn grove, in Orange County, was planted before the war by a woman as an appendage to the house over which she presided, and as a matter of fancy simply. It consists of seven acres with eighty trees to the acre, and now yields from eight hundred to eighteen hundred oranges per tree, and which sell on the branches at from fifteen to twenty dollars per thousand. The sweet-seedling tree

(grown from the seed of a sweet orange) is several years later in coming into bearing than the budded tree, but it makes in the end the largest and best-formed tree, yielding its rich harvests, under favoring conditions, for a century or more. A fine tree, still green and youthful, in the northern part of the State, is known to be over eighty years old, and the "Grand Constable," in the orangery of Versailles, is four hundred and fifty years old. A number of old trees in the State yield from five thousand to eight thousand oranges annually, and thus furnish their owners an income of from fifty to one hundred dollars per tree. The orange is a hardy tree, with fragrant evergreen foliage, pure white odorous blossoms, and is extremely sensitive to care and neglect. The orange business was not really undertaken in the State until within the last fifteen years.

The commercial panics and other misfortunes in the country during the last few years have turned thousands to Florida to engage in the orange business, which, when conducted with personal industry, is attended with few risks, giving promise of permanent reward. It is now conceded that Florida is the finest orange-growing country on the globe. Trees transplanted from any other orange country to Florida are noticeably improved, showing conclusively that this peninsula possesses just the climate and soil for its rarest production. The orange-tree grows vigorously on suitable soil all through the State, but in the northern counties the cold injures the crop a part of the time, and on the extreme southern point of the peninsula the climate is a little too tropical for the rarest growth of this queen of fruits. It is a sub-tropical tree, and succeeds to admiration about midway of the peninsula, in the belt we have before described. It is not easy to estimate the number of groves; these are scattered all through the State, and are receiving large annual additions. Hitherto Florida has furnished less than one in twelve of the oranges consumed in our own country, so that over-production is not probable. The increase in population and wealth will more than keep pace with orange production.

The lemon-tree grows wild also in Florida, yielding a fair fruit, and this tree, by budding, is susceptible of the same improvements as the orange. The lemon is one of our most use-

ful fruits, its oil, essence, or acids, finding place in our food and medicines, in the arts deepening or discharging colors, and in acidulated beverages suited to every stage of sickness or health. The lemon-tree is not as beautiful as the orange, nor has it here received the same attention. Its study is now, however, being vigorously prosecuted. The Sicily lemon-tree thrives here, and as the lemon comes into bearing sooner than the orange, it is now considered equally profitable. The lime grown in Florida is pronounced by old travelers the largest and finest grown on the globe. Several varieties are cultivated. The fruit is smaller than the lemon, but it is more acidulous, contains little pulp, and is covered with a very thin peel. It is in no sense inferior to the lemon, and seems almost destined to supplant it. The tree comes into bearing sooner than the lemon, is astonishingly prolific, is perfectly vigorous and healthy, and forms one of the richest ornamental trees in Florida. Planted closely in rows, it forms a perfect hedge against man, beast, and fowl. Its cultivation for the production of citric acid alone would be profitable. It is almost a tropical tree, and thrives best in the Lake Region and a little southward. The shaddock and grape-fruit trees are akin, prodigies of rapid growth, yielding rich fruit of great size, not much, as yet, understood or prized in commerce. It was certainly meet that Florida, so long neglected, misunderstood, and concealed by untoward providences, should finally excel all her sister States in the modest beauty of her scenery and in the wealth of her numerous and exquisite productions.

Art. III.—JESUS A TOTAL ABSTAINER.

[Fourth Article.]

3. *Third Specification: Jesus* used *intoxicating wine, and* commanded it to be used *until the end of time.*

It is assumed that he used such a beverage at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, and as he sat at the table with publicans and sinners; although no mention is made of his personally partaking of wine of any sort in these or in any other

instances, save in the two about to be considered.* And as we have already examined these other cases, we may omit any further reference to them. The two occasions on which it is recorded that Jesus did make use of wine, and on which it is asserted that the wine used was fermented, are (1) the Last Supper and (2) the Crucifixion. We shall separately consider them.

I. Chancellor Crosby,† Dr. Moore,‡ and Professor Bumstead,§ all claim that Christ employed fermented wine at the Last Supper. Dr. Moore frankly says, "He instituted the Holy Supper in wine on which unworthy communicants could get drunk, (1 Cor. xi, 21.)" We have to examine this charge, and see whether it can be substantiated. All the evidence bearing upon the case may be gathered from three sources, namely, (i) The circumstances under which the Supper was instituted, (ii) The language in which the event is recorded, (iii) The practice of those by whom the rite was perpetuated.

i. *The circumstances under which the Supper was instituted.*—The celebration of the Jewish Passover was the occasion of the institution of the Christian sacrament. (Matt. xxvi, 19; Mark xiv, 16; Luke xxii, 13.) The elements of the former furnished the emblems of the latter. The drink of the one constituted the drink of the other.‖ But what was the drink of the Passover? There is no mention of any beverage in the many statutes concerning the festival, or in the frequent references to its observance found in the Old Testament. It had become an established custom, however, to use wine at the Passover, "at all events in the post-Babylonian period."¶ In none of the allusions which the Old Testament makes to the use of wine for religious purposes, is a fermented article indicated;** and in the only reference which it contains to the use

* It is taken for granted that Christ himself participated in the meal of the Passover and the Last Supper. This is settled, we think, by Matt. xxvi, 29, etc. Vide Meyer, "Comm.," *in loc.*

† "A Calm View," etc.

‡ "Presbyterian Review," January, 1881, p. 83.

§ "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 87.

‖ The same, of course, is true of the bread, and for ourselves we should not hesitate to follow out the argument to its legitimate consequences.

¶ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," art. "Wine."

** Two terms are employed in the requirements and references concerning drink-offerings. They are the generic *yayin* (Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. xxiii. 13; Num. xv, 7; xxviii, 14; Deut. xiv. 26; Hos. ix, 4) and the generic *shechar*, (Num. xxviii, 7; Deut. xiv, 26.) The first drops that reached the lower vat

of wine at any of the great religious festivals an unfermented sort is distinctly specified.* The practice of the Jewish Church in this particular, during the transitional period between the close of the Old Testament canon and the opening of the New Testament dispensation, is illustrated by a passage in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Speaking of the high-priest Simon, probably that Simon who bore the surname Just, (B. C. 310–290,) † this book says, (l, 14, 15,) "And finishing the service at the altar that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty, he stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape, (ἐξ αἵματος σταφυλῆς:) he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savor unto the most high King of all." All the analogies of the case, therefore, would lead to the conclusion that the wine of the Passover was an unfermented drink. But we are not confined to analogies for our argument. It was the law of this feast, enacted at the beginning and never annulled or amended, that nothing fermented should enter into its observance. It was called the feast of "sweetnesses," or of "unfermented things." (Exod. xxiii, 15.) ‡ Its law ran thus, (A. V.:) "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord. Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters," (Exod. xiii, 6, 7.) Nothing could be more emphatic or explicit. Not only were unfermented things alone to be eaten during the feast, but every thing that had been fermented, or that was capable of producing fermentation, was to be rigidly excluded from sight. That this was the import of

were called the *dema*, or tear (A. V.) "liquors," and formed the first-fruits of the vintage, which were to be presented to Jehovah, (Exodus xxii, 29.) This was unquestionably a perfectly fresh and unfermented article, like the Latin *protropum*.

* Neh. viii, 10. The Feast of the Tabernacles is referred to, and the fact that this occurred during the grape harvest confirms the unfermented character of "the sweet," *mamtaqqim*, already noted.

† *Vide* Lange, "Commentary on the Apocrypha." Introduction. p. 279.

‡ אֶת־חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, *eth-chag ham-matzoth*, does not signify "the feast of unleavened bread." That requires לֶחֶם, *lechem*, "bread," to be expressed, as in Exod. xxix. 2. Cf. *challath matzoth*, "an unleavened cake," Num. vi, 19. *Vide* "M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia," art. "Leaven."

the command, and that it covered liquids as well as solids, wine as well as bread, appears from the following considerations:

a. The word twice rendered (A. V.) "unleavened bread" in the passage just quoted is מַצּוֹת, *matzoth*. It is the plural of מָצָה, *matzah*, (r. מָצַץ, *matzatz*,) which signifies "sweetness, concr. sweet, *i. e.*, not fermented."* It is used indefinitely and substantively—there is nothing in the text corresponding to "bread"—and means "sweetnesses," or "unfermented things."

b. The word twice rendered (A. V.) "eat" is the verb אָכַל, *akal*, which is frequently used in the same general sense as the English eat, including the taking of all kinds of refreshments, both meat and drink, (*e. g.*, Genesis xliii, 16; Deut. xxvii, 7; 1 Sam. ix, 13,) and may be rendered in this instance, "to partake of."

c. The word rendered (A. V.) "leaven" is שְׂאֹר, *seor*, (from the obsolete root שָׂאַר, *saar*, cognate with the verbs שָׂעַר, *shaar*, סִיר, *sir*, to become hot, to ferment, and akin to the Anglo-Saxon *sur;* Germ. *sauer;* and Eng. *sour.*)† It means literally "the sourer," and is applicable to any matter capable of producing fermentation—to all yeasty or decaying albuminous substances—and so may be translated "ferment."

d. The word rendered (A. V.) "leavened bread" is חָמֵץ, *chametz*, from a root of the same form, and signifying to be sour, acid, leavened.‡ It denotes, generically, any substance which has been subjected to the action of *seor*. Like *matzoth*, it is used substantively and indefinitely, with nothing in the context corresponding to (A. V.) "bread." It may be translated "fermented thing." That it is as applicable to liquids as to solids is proven by the use of the kindred form *chometz*, vinegar, or sour wine.§

* So Gesenius, "Lexicon," *s. v.* But Fürst assigns to it the idea of *thinness;* Kurtz, of *dryness;* Knobel and Keil, of *purity*. Gesenius' explanation, however, is most generally accepted. Sweetness, in this connection, has the sense of uncorrupted or incorruptible, and so is easily associated with the idea of dryness and purity. The Arabic word having the sense of pure, to which Knobel and Keil refer *matzoth*, is a secondary form. The root has the same meaning assigned by Gesenius to *matzoth*. (*Vide* "Speaker's Commentary" on Exodus xii, 17.)

† Gesenius, "Lexicon," *s. v.* ‡ *Ibid.*

§ "In Num. vi, 3, *chametz* is applied to wine as an adjective, and should there be translated fermented wine, not vinegar of wine."—*M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia*, art. "Leaven."

The entire passage, (Exodus xiii, 6, 7,) therefore, may with literal accuracy be rendered: "Seven days thou shalt partake of unfermented things, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord. Unfermented things shall be partaken of seven days; and there shall no fermented thing be seen with thee, neither shall there be any ferment seen with thee in all thy quarters." That this prohibition must have included fermented wine as well as leavened bread, will still further appear from a brief consideration of the *raison d'être* of the enactment. It was not intended, as Professor Bumstead declares,* to remind the people of Israel "of the haste with which they left Egypt, (Deut. xvi, 3,) having no time to put leaven in their dough," a reason which, he says, "would not apply to the wine." But it does not apply to the bread. Neither the passage to which he refers, nor any other in the sacred narrative, gives any intimation that this was the primary purpose of the statute. On the contrary, it is evident from Exodus xii, 8, compared with xii, 39, that the command to eat unleavened bread was given before the departure of the Israelites, and when there was plenty of time for the dough to leaven.† Neither was there any moral significance in the circumstance of haste deserving the perpetuation of ages. But this law was grounded in the very nature of things, and was designed to set an object-lesson for succeeding generations. Fermentation is a process of putrefaction, and ferment or leaven is a substance in a state of putrefaction.‡ By the very closest association of ideas, therefore, it becomes the natural symbol of moral corruption. Christ illustrated and confirmed this symbolism when he bade his disciples "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," (Matt. xvi, 6, 12;) as did St. Paul when he admonished the Corinthians to "purge out the old leaven," (1 Cor. v, 7.) The Jews employed it in their representations of the depravity of human nature,§ and the ancient pagan world recognized its significance in the law which forbade the high-priest of Jupiter to touch leaven "because it was made by corruption, and cor-

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 72.

† *Vide* Alexander's Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopedia," art. "Passover."

‡ "Turner's Chemistry," by Liebig, 1842, p. 991. It is worthy of notice that the Latin writers use *corruptus* as signifying fermented: and Tacitus ("Germ." 23) and Macrobius ("Sat." vii, 12, 11) apply the word to the fermentation of wine.

§ *Vide* "Babyl. Berachoth," 17, 1. Cf., also Persius, "Sat." i, 24.

rupted the mass which was mingled with it."* Its exclusion from the sacrifices of the Jews was based upon precisely the same principle,† as was also the requirement that salt, as the preventive of corruption, should form a part of every offering, (Lev. ii, 13.)‡ The prohibition of leaven was not peculiar to the Passover, but antedated the institution of that festival, and applied to the greater part of the Jewish ritual. The use of leaven was strictly forbidden in the meat-offering, (Lev. ii, 11,) the trespass-offering, (Lev. vi, 17,) the consecration-offering, (Exod. xxix, 2; Lev. viii, 2,) and the Nazarite offering, (Num. vi, 15.) The show-bread also was unleavened, (Lev. xxiv, 5–9.)§ Nor was this prohibition confined exclusively to bread or even to solids. It was extended to *debash*, grape-honey, (Lev. ii, 11,) as peculiarly liable to fermentation. It likewise, in all probability, applied to milk, (Exod. xxxiv, 26; Deut. xiv, 21.)‖

But in no form is this element of corruption more actively present than in alcoholic wine, and any interdiction of it so searching and sweeping as the law of the Passover must have embraced its existence and energy in that shape. The Jews have so understood the law. The rabbis have always interpreted it as including liquids. The Mishna expressly specifies certain fermented drinks whose use would be a violation of the feast, and in general forbids all liquors made from grain.¶ It is claimed, however, that "in the things which, according to the Mishna, transgress the Passover, *wine* is not spoken of, nor any drink prepared purely from *fruit*."** This is readily

* Plutarch, "Rom. Quæs.," 109; Aulus Gellius, x, 15, 19.

† *Vide* Keil and Delitzsch, "Comm.," on Exod. xii, 8, 9.

‡ *Vide* Ewald, "Antiquities of Israel," Edinburgh, p. 34.

§ *Vide* Josephus, "Antiq. Jud.," iii, 6, 6; Talm., *Minchoth*, v, 2, 3.

‖ "As early sacrifices were boiled, the ordinance [forbidding the seething of a kid in its mother's milk] means that the sacrifice must not be boiled in milk, which, from the fermenting quality of the latter, may be a variety of the law against leaven in ritual. Milk, no doubt, was generally eaten in a sour form, (Arabic *aquit.*) Bokhâry, vi, 193." W. R. Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 438, note.

¶ Hæc sunt in causa transgressionis Paschatis; Cutach Babylonicum, cerevisia Medïae et acetum Edomæum, et Zytus Ægypticus, et Zoman tinctorum et Amilan coquorum et pulmentum librariorum. Regula generalis hæc est quicquid est e speciebus trumenti, ecce propter hoc transgreditur Pascha.—*Pesachoth*, Part II, p. 142.

** Dr. Moore, in "Presbyterian Review," January, 1882, p. 87.

granted. It is even true that Maimonides and Bartenora, Spanish rabbins of the twelfth century, in their comments on the Mishna, distinctly state that the juices of fruits, including wine, were allowed at the Passover by the ancient Jews. But on what ground were such beverages permitted? On the remarkable hypothesis, according to Maimonides, that "the liquor of fruit does not engender fermentation, but acidity!" * This concedes the whole case, and shows that alcoholic wine could be used only by a denial of its real nature. Of significance in this connection, is the rabbinical ordinance that no Jew shall enter a place where wine or other fermented liquors are sold during Passover week, and that, if one of that race and religion is a vintner, he must close out his whole stock previous to this festival.† It is also important to observe that distilled spirits, under whatever name, have always been interdicted at the paschal supper.‡ Facts such as these make it plain that in the judgment of the Jews, ancient and modern, the law of the Passover extended to the prohibition of every kind of fermented liquor. And yet we have the statement specifically and repeatedly made, and supported, as it is claimed, by "superabundant evidence," § in the shape of testimony from Jewish sources, that the fermented juice of the grape is regarded as the only legitimate wine for Passover use. Now, if this were true without any qualification, and if it expressed the universal usage of modern Judaism, it would even then not necessarily be determinative of primitive thought and practice in this particular. For there is no certainty that the memorial Passover, which now alone the Jews are able to observe, is identical in custom and ceremonial with the original and sacrificial Passover. ‖ But such a statement is not unqualifiedly true. Testimony on this subject is not unanimous, and uni-

* Chametz Vematzah, v, 1, 2.

† *Vide* "Sunday Magazine," 1870, p. 730, art. "Passover Observances."

‡ Freshman, "Jews and Israelites," p. 66.

§ Dr. Moore, in "Presbyterian Review" for January, 1882, p. 89, who gives a number of specimens of this evidence. Some of it, however, contains noteworthy concessions. One witness (Rev. J. H. Bruehl, p. 90) says, in regard to the raisin wine used by the Jews at the Passover, "They are perfectly indifferent about fermentation." Another witness (Dr. Gottheil, p. 91) testifies that while the use of *fermented* wine is proper at the Passover, unfermented is permitted in certain cases.

‖ *Vide* Canon Farrar on Luke xxii, 18, in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools."

formity of practice does not prevail. There is much evidence, of an unimpeachable sort, on the other side. Mr. Allen, an authority on all matters pertaining to modern Judaism, writes, with reference to the wine of the Passover: "They [the Jews] are forbidden to drink any liquor made from grain, *or that has passed through the process of fermentation.* Their drink is either pure water or raisin-wine prepared by themselves."* Dr. S. M. Isaacs, an eminent Jewish rabbi, and formerly chief editor of "The Jewish Messenger," says: "The Jews do not, in their feasts for sacred purposes, including the marriage feast, ever use any kind of fermented drinks. In their oblations and libations, both private and public, they employ the fruit of the vine—that is, fresh grapes—unfermented grape-juice and raisins, as the symbol of benediction. Fermentation is to them always a symbol of corruption, as in nature and science it is itself decay, rottenness."† Another leading rabbi of New York city has recently testified, that "Fermented wine, as every thing fermented, is rigidly excluded from our Passover fare, in accordance with the spirit of the divine command, Exodus xii, 19."‡ In accounting for and estimating this conflicting, not to say contradictory, evidence, it is necessary to bear in mind that there are two distinctly marked parties among the Jews—the one orthodox, the other liberal. The former, who are strict in their interpretation of the Law and in their obedience to its requirements, rigorously exclude all fermented drinks from the feast of the Passover. The latter, who are latitudinarian in doctrine and lax in practice, deny that the law of the Passover extends to the wine. Not a few of this school place the wines of commerce on the paschal board; some neglect altogether the ordinance of their fathers; others rob the rite of all significance by denying the supernatural character of the events which it commemorates. There is good reason for believing, however, that the stricter or orthodox view prevailed in our Lord's day. So impartial an authority as Dr. A. P. Peabody says§ that he "has satisfied himself, by careful research, that at our Saviour's

* "Modern Judaism," London, 1830, p. 394.

† Quoted in Patton, "Bible Wines," p. 83.

‡ Quoted by Dr. Charles Beecher in "The New Englander," July, 1882, p. 520.

§ "The Monthly Review," vol. xliii, p. 41.

time the Jews—at least the high ritualists among them—extended the prohibition of leaven at the Passover season to the principle of fermentation in every form; and that it was customary at the Passover festival for the master of the household to press the contents of 'the cup' from clusters of grapes preserved for this very purpose." And Dr. Charles Beecher declares * that "after a somewhat careful search" he has come to the same conclusion. But whatever may be the facts in the case, however much the Jews may have misunderstood the law, perverted its meaning, overlaid it with their traditions, or made it of none effect by their practices, it does not affect the matter at issue. It is not their custom which we are endeavoring to determine, but the conduct of Christ. And about this there ought to be, and there can be, no controversy. He who came "not to destroy, but to fulfill," (Matt. v, 17,) and whom it became "to fulfill *all* righteousness," (Matt. iii, 15,) could not ignorantly, and would not intentionally, have broken or infringed the Law, either in its letter or in its spirit. He could not have celebrated the Passover in a wine which had undergone fermentation, and so had become a symbol of corruption.

We advance another step now, and proceed to consider

ii. *The language in which the institution of the Lord's Supper is recorded.*—This is preserved to us with singular uniformity in the first three Gospels, and in almost the same form in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The words of these records are largely the personal utterances of Christ himself, so that they come to us with especial significance, and each adds its own weight to the argument. After mentioning the blessing and breaking of the bread, the narratives continue:

a. "And he took (received, Luke) the cup—τὸ ποτήριον—and gave thanks"—εὐχαριστήσας—(Matt. xxvi, 27; Mark xiv, 23; Luke xxii, 17.) St. Paul simply says: "After the same manner also the cup," (1 Cor. xi, 25.) Some good manuscripts omit the article before "cup" in Matthew and Mark, but its use by Luke and Paul is undoubted. The reference, as most authorities agree, is to the third of the four cups at the passover meal, called the "cup of benediction," (*Cos ha-Berachah.*) It was this cup with which the Christian ordinance was

* "The New Englander," July, 1882, p. 520.

inaugurated. For it the great Founder of the feast gave thanks as he consecrated it to its new and holier uses. And, when it had been transferred to the sacramental table, it was still called "the cup of blessing," (1 Cor. x, 16.) It is not necessary to suggest that "the cup" is put by metonomy for its contents. They were the subject of thanksgiving, the medium of blessing. Such, indeed, would be the pure and nutritious juice of the grape. Such never could be the wine upon which God had poured his maledictions, and upon which he had warned his children not to look. We cannot conceive of Christ bending over such a beverage in grateful prayer. The supposition is sacrilegious. The imputation is blasphemous. No cup that can intoxicate is a cup of blessing, but a cup of cursing. It is not "the cup of the Lord," but "the cup of devils." (1 Cor. x, 21.) It does not belong to a eucharistic feast, but is the fit accompaniment of scenes of revelry and riot.

b. "And gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it," Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, literally, Drink all ye of this, (Matt. xxvi, 27.) "And they all drank of it," (Mark xiv, 23.) "Take this and divide it among yourselves," (Luke xxiii, 17.) Why Christ should have singled out the wine, and insisted that all should partake of that, may not be plain, but the fact is patent. Rome, in attempted justification of her course in denying the cup to the laity, may limit the injunction to the apostles and their ecclesiastical successors, but Protestantism easily exposes the falsity of such an interpretation. All of Christ's true disciples every-where are commanded to drink of the sacramental cup. There is no exception, absolutely none. If the contents of that cup be the uncorrupted and nutritious juice of the grape, there need be none. But if they be the fermented wine so many allege, then there are many of our Saviour's faithful followers who cannot and who ought not to partake. There are constitutions to which alcohol in any form or quantity is an active poison,* and there are none to which it is not more or less harmful. It ought never to pass the pure

* "There are some persons on whom the smallest quantity of alcohol seems to act like the taste of blood on a tiger, producing in them a wild desire for more, and destroying all self-control. For them alcohol is a poison, and total abstinence their only safeguard." Dr. Brunton, editor of "The London Practitioner," in "The Alcohol Question," p. 26.

lips of children, than whom none are more welcome at the Lord's table. It should never be put into the hands of those "who are practically unable to avoid excess if they use wine at all," * much less should it be put to the lips of one in whom the simple taste, and sometimes even the mere smell of alcohol awakens a dormant or conquered appetite, and becomes the initial step to a course of headlong dissipation and irremediable ruin.† Yet such has been the sad history of not a few souls.‡ Can it be that He who taught his disciples to pray "Lead us not into temptation," has made his memorial table a place of overmastering temptation to any, and of possible danger to all?

c. "For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." (Matt. xxvi, 28; Mark xiv, 24, omits "for the remission of sins;" Luke ii, 20, also omits this clause, and reads, "which is shed for you;" 1 Cor. xi, 25, omits both these clauses.) Up to this moment the blood of bulls and of goats had represented the blood of Christ; henceforth the wine of the Supper was to stand as its symbol. (Heb. ix, 13, 14.) But we undertake to say that fermented wine could not suitably serve this purpose. It is not a proper symbol of blood in general. Its only possible resemblance to blood is its color. But that characteristic does not pertain to it exclusively, and the point of the symbolism, as Meyer has shown, § does not lie in the color. In every other particular, the argument is altogether with the unfermented

* Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 92.

† "Alcohol is a veritable physical demon, which, once introduced into the blood of many a reformed inebriate, even after the lapse of a long term of strict sobriety, may rage through his veins like a consuming fire, and hurry him into the lowest depths of his long-abandoned and sincerely-repented-of sin. . It is difficult for any one inexperienced in the treatment of dipsomania to realize the truth. But so real is the danger, that, Churchman as I am, even when a drinker myself, I never allowed any reformed drunkard to go near a communion-table where an intoxicating liquor was presented. In this practice I am supported by Dr. Richardson, Dr. Fergus, Surgeon-General Francis, and other experts in the higher ranks of the medical profession. I would as soon have thought of putting a loaded pistol in the hands of a maniac in a lucid interval, bidding him take care not to shoot himself." Dr. Norman Kerr, in "Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical," pp. 98, 99, who cites the very positive testimony of the above-mentioned physicians on the subject.

‡ *Vide* testimony of Dr. Duffield in "Bible Rule of Temperance," p. 134.

§ "Comm." on Matt. xxvi, 28.

wine, as so eminent an authority as Dr. B. W. Richardson has pointed out. He says:

The constituent parts actually of blood and of the expressed wine are strikingly analogous. One of the most important elements of the blood, that which keeps it together, that which Plato speaks of as the "plastic parts of the blood," is the fibrine, and that is represented in the gluten of the unfermented wine. If we come to the nourishing part of the blood, that which we call the mother of the tissues, we find it in the unfermented grape, in the albumen, and that is also present in the blood; and if we come to all the salts, there they are in the blood, and the proportion is nearly the same in the unfermented wine as in the blood; and if we come to the unfermented parts of the wine which go to support the respiration of the body, we find them in the sugar. Really and truly, on a question of symbolism, if there be any thing at all in that, the argument is all in favor of the use of unfermented wine.*

Again, fermented wine cannot be a proper symbol of *Christ's* blood. The warm current which pulsates in human veins is not pure. It has been tainted by sin. This taint is the accumulated heritage of generations of transgressors. And a wine in which some trace of fermentation had begun the work of corruption might not unfitly represent such blood. But the blood of Christ was absolutely pure. There was no touch or taint of sin in his veins. "He whom God raised again saw no corruption," (Acts xiii, 37,) either in life or in death. And of the contents of the eucharistic cup he declared "this is *my* blood." Then it was pure, as fresh and uncontaminated as the clustered drops within the unburst grape.† Again, fermented wine cannot be an appropriate symbol of Christ's blood as the means of man's redemption and sanctification. Such "a defunct and deleterious liquor" could be a proper emblem only of depravity and death. While "the fresh juice of the cluster,

* From an address delivered at a select conference in London after a paper by Dr. Norman Kerr, on "Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical." "National Temperance Advocate," March, 1882, p. 37.

† It may be regarded as a strong confirmation of this view of the case, that in every instance where Christ alone was typified in the sacrifices, offerings, and feasts of the Old Testament, the use of leaven, the element and emblem of corruption, was prohibited, as in the trespass offering (Lev. vi, 17,) and the meat offering, (Lev. ii, 11;) while in those instances where God's people were typified, as in the two loaves which constituted the meat offering of the feast of Pentecost, (Lev. xxiii, 17,) the use of leaven was enjoined.

full of inimitable life," fitly signifies the blessings of salvation and immortal joy which the blood of Christ bestows. That blood is said to purge the conscience, (Heb. ix, 14;) but fermented wine stimulates to unnatural activity all the physical powers and awakens all the baser passions of the soul. The unfermented wine, however, is a gentle purgative and a genuine nutrient, and is every way adapted to promote the health and happiness of man.

The expression, "which was shed for many," is especially suggestive in this connection. The word is *ἐκχυνόμενον*, from *ἐκχύνω*, (r. *ἐκχέω*,) to pour out or shed, and is radically the same as the term *ἀρχιοινοχόος*, by which the LXX translate the Heb. שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים, *sar ham-mashqim*, in Gen. xl, 9, rendered (A. V.) "chief butler." The participle, moreover, is in the present tense, as is *διδόμενον*, (Luke xxii, 19,) and *κλώμενον*, (1 Cor. xi, 24,) used in speaking of "the bread," and which we may suppose were uttered in immediate connection with the act of "breaking" and "giving" it to the disciples: "This is my body which is being broken and is being given to you." So we may conceive that on this solemn occasion our Lord, acting as the *archioinochoos*, took the purple clusters and pressed their rich juice into the cup, suiting, as he did so, the action to the word, and saying: "This is my blood in the New Testament which is being poured out for you." *

It may be urged that this interpretation is inconsistent with the fact that the passover occurred six months after the vintage. But in grape-growing countries the art of preserving the fruit for lengthened periods in a fresh state and with flavor unimpaired, is thoroughly understood and generally practiced. Josephus' testimony (Bel. Jud., vii, 8, 4) has already been given. † Niebuhr says that "the Arabs preserve grapes by hanging them up in their cellars, and eat them almost through the whole year." ‡ Swinburne quotes from an Arabic manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Library of the Escurial, which says that the people of Granada "have the secret of preserving grapes sound and juicy from one season to

* Meyer says (Comm. *in loc.*,) the whole point of the symbolism lay in *the being poured out.*

† "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1882, p. 299.

‡ "Travels through Arabia," Heron's translation, 1792, i, 406.

another." * Bernier says grapes were sent from Persia to India, wrapped in cotton, two hundred years ago, and sold there throughout the year.† Dr. Robinson states that "grapes at Damascus ripen early in July, and are said to be found in the market during eight months." ‡ Secretary Mounsey, of the British Embassy in Vienna, writes that in a village near Sultania, in Persia, he "had a great treat to-day in the shape of some grapes. In this dry atmosphere they can be kept, it seems, for almost any length of time." § Signor Peppini, one of the largest wine manufacturers of Italy, informed Mr. E. C. Delevan, in 1839, that "he had then in his lofts, for the use of his table until the next vintage, a quantity of grapes sufficient to make one hundred gallons of wine." ‖ Dr. Kerr says: "A friend of mine now in Britain not long since unpacked grapes he had received eleven months previously from the continent, finding them fresh and good." ¶ We can buy such foreign grapes, packed in cork-dust, at almost any fruit stand or first-class grocery store in this country. All travelers, moreover, bear witness to the ease with which meats and fruits are preserved for almost any length of time in the clear and dry atmosphere of Palestine. The suggested inconsistency, therefore, does not exist. Freshly kept grapes might readily have been procured for the purpose of the Last Supper.**

d. "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine—" (Matt. xxvi, 29; Mark xiv, 25; Luke xxii, 18.) It is a noteworthy fact that nowhere in the New Testament is the word *oivoς* used with reference to the Lord's Supper. After noticing the use of this term in John ii, 10; Eph. v, 18, etc., Prof. Bumstead says: "The fact is not without significance that in these passages the sacred writers did *not* use the only Greek word which clearly refers to an unfermented liquid, namely, γλεῦκος." †† And so we say, the fact is not without significance that in speaking of the wine of the

* "Travels Through Spain," London, 1787, i, 260.

† "Travels in Mogul," London, 1826, i, 284.

‡ "Biblical Researches," 1856, iii, 453.

§ "The Caucasus and Persia," London, 1872, p. 117.

‖ "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 278.

¶ "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 30.

** *Vide* quotation from Dr. Peabody, *supra*, p. 664, latter part.

†† "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 80.

Supper the sacred writers did not use the Greek word which these authors assert always refers to a fermented liquid, namely, *οἶνος*. Instead of so doing, we find them employing an expression which cannot by any legitimate method of interpretation be made to mean a fermented article. * Two terms are used and two only. One, which we have already considered, is used figuratively; the cup is put for its contents, but indicates nothing as to their character. The other we regard as decisive of the point in question. Christ calls the contents of that cup "the fruit of the vine," *γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου*. Γέννημα, from *γεννάω*, to beget, or produce, signifies in classic and in Hellenistic Greek a *natural* product in its natural state, just as it is gathered and garnered. This is its signification in Polybius, i, 71, 1; iii, 87, 1, and in Diodorus Siculus, v, 17; in the LXX, Gen. xli, 34; xlvii, 24; and Exod. xxiii, 10; also in the New Testament, Luke xii, 18. In each of these instances it is equivalent to *κάρπος*, "the natural fruit, usually of trees, but sometimes of the earth." In the case before us it could have no proper or possible application but to the juice of the grape in its natural state just as it came from the cluster. It must mean, if it mean wine at all, a purely unfermented wine. Fermented wine is not "the fruit of the vine." It is the fruit of disintegration and decay. "Alcoholic wine, then, is no more entitled to be called 'the fruit of the vine' than any of the other contemporaneous or subsequent products of its decay, such as carbonic acid, vinegar, yeast, volatile oils, œnanthic acid, or ammonia. To apply the phrase, 'fruit of the vine' to any of the substances resulting from its decay, is just the same absurdity as to call death the fruit of life." † We cannot doubt that Jesus, with divine wisdom, selected this term to designate the contents of the memorial cup, that in

* "Considering how often the New Testament writers mention the Supper, their entire avoidance of all the current names for wine, in that connection, affords some reason for holding that they designed to avoid them. It is not an unnatural suggestion that they may have designated what was in 'the cup' as 'the fruit of the vine,' expressly to distinguish it from that fermented preparation of grape-juice commonly known as wine. If we take the evidence of the Bible, separate from Jewish and patristic tradition, this certainly seems to be the one salient point in the case." Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., in "The Presbyterian Review," April, 1882, p. 322.

† Dr. Lees, in "Text-Book of Temperance," p. 50.

after times no sanction might be found in his words for the use of a beverage manifestly unfit for the purposes of the holy sacrament.

It is worthy of notice that the word ἄμπελος, vine, is used in only two connections in the narratives of the life of Christ. We find it in the instance just cited, and also in the report of our Lord's farewell address to his disciples, preserved in John xv, 1, 4, 5. That address, as we know, was given on this very occasion of the Last Supper, (John xiii, 1, f.) What suggested the strikingly appropriate figure which it contains, of the vine and its branches? Several theories have been proposed. Among others, Dr. Geikie* says: "Perhaps the thought rose from the sight of the wine-cup on the table, and its recent use at the evening feast; or perhaps the house stood amid vines, and the branches may have been trained around the windows; or the vineyard itself may have lain below in the bright moonlight." But it is far more probable, as it seems to us, that the idea of this happy comparison was suggested by the crushed clusters that lay upon the table about which they still lingered.

c. "Until that day when I drink it new (καινόν) with you in my Father's kingdom," (Matt.. xxvi, 29; Mark xiv, 25. Luke says merely, "Until the kingdom of God shall come," xxii, 18.) Those who oppose our position understand Christ in this passage to be contrasting the *old wine* which he was then drinking with the *new wine* which he was to drink with his disciples in the coming kingdom. But such an interpretation, implying, as it unquestionably does, the superiority of the *new* wine, is in direct contradiction to the construction which these same scholars insist upon putting on Luke v, 39, already considered. So that they may safely be left to answer themselves. Far more reasonable is the interpretation which takes καινόν as an adverbial accusative, and renders, not drink *new* wine, but drink it *anew*.† But much better than either is the construction which regards, as the others do not, the distinction between καινός and νέος. The latter term would signify simply wine new in time, as of a recent vintage; the

* "Life and Words of Christ," ii, 484. Dr. Macdonald makes a similar suggestion in "The Life and Writings of St. John," p. 353, note.

† So Theophylact, Kuinoel, Rosenmüller, Bloomfield, Abbott, *et al.*

latter means wine new in quality or character. * In this sense the word is nearly equivalent to ἕτερος, different. This appears from Mark xvi, 17, where καιναὶ γλώσσαι "does not express the recent commencement of this miraculous speaking with tongues, but the unlikeness of these tongues to any that went before, therefore called also ἕτεραι γλῶσσαι, (Acts ii, 4,) 'tongues different from any hitherto known.'" † This use of the word is illustrated in Xenophon, (Mem. I., 1, 3.) ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, "he introduced nothing of a different nature from the rest." The term is frequently employed with this signification in the New Testament, as in the passage immediately preceding the one under consideration. The "new covenant" of Matt. xxvi, 28, is a covenant of a widely different nature from the former. So the "new creature," καινὴ κτίσις, of 2 Cor. v, 17, and Gal. vi, 15, and the "new man," καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, of Eph. iv, 24, and Col. iii, 10, denote a creature and a character of another type altogether. The term is employed in this sense especially, as in the present instance, with reference to "the future renovation of all things" ‡ predicted by Christ, (Rev. xxi, 5,) "Behold I make all things new, (καινά.)" Thus we read of the "new song," ᾠδὴ καινή, (Rev. v, 9; xiv, 3;) the "new name," ὄνομα καινόν, (Rev. ii, 17; iii, 12;) "the new heaven and the new earth," οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν, (2 Pet. iii, 13; Rev. xxi, 1;) and "the new Jerusalem," ἡ καινὴ Ἱερουσαλήμ, (Rev. iii, 12; xxi, 2)—all of them signifying something of an entirely different nature from any thing which has preceded.

We understand, therefore, by this "new wine" of the coming kingdom a wine which, like that kingdom itself, will be of a kind and character utterly unknown to earth, a spiritual wine as it is to be a spiritual kingdom. § It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to suppose that it will be identical with what is elsewhere called "the *water* of life," (Rev. xxi, 6; xxii, 1, 17.) The allusion of Christ, in this instance, was undoubtedly suggested, not by the presence of an old and fermented liquor at the feast, but by the contents of the cup from which he had

* So Bengel, Meyer, Clarke, Mansel, Nast, *et al.*

† Trench, "Synonyms of the New Testament," Part II, § 10, *q. v.*

‡ *Vide* Robinson, "Lexicon of the New Testament," *s. v.*

§ Ellicott, "Comm. on Matthew," *in loc.*

just drank, and in which was the freshly expressed juice of the cluster, so beautifully typical of "the newness of life," καινότης ζωῆς, (Rom. vi, 4,) which men have in him.

iii. *The practice of those by whom this rite was perpetuated* is corroborative of our position that the wine used at its institution was unfermented. But issue is straightway joined with this statement, and the conduct of the Corinthians, as described in 1 Cor. xi, 20, 21, is cited in refutation. This passage, indeed, is the main reliance of those who insist that the wine of the Last Supper was alcoholic. Dr. Moore returns to it again and again, in the course of his two articles, to prove "that the sacramental cup containing 'the fruit of the vine' could certainly intoxicate those who were guilty of the sin of drinking it immoderately."* Dr. Poor also asks, "Is not this a valid argument in proof of the fact that the wine used at the Lord's Supper, in the primitive Church, was such as could intoxicate?"† By no means, we answer. The record in question does not refer to the Lord's Supper at all, but to the agapæ, or love-feasts, which were often associated with it.‡ But "this is *not* to eat the Lord's Supper," (1 Cor. xi, 20,) the apostle distinctly declares. "Paul rebuked the Corinthians for getting drunk when they did *not* eat the Lord's Supper," Prof. Beecher remarks;§ and then, with justifiable sarcasm, inquires, "Does it not follow, by irresistible inference, that when they *did* eat it, they used a wine capable of making them drunk?" And he is correct in saying, "This is not a caricature of the argument from this passage. It is the argument itself, and the whole of it." But, supposing this reference was to the Lord's Supper, we have already shown‖ that the natural and necessary rendering of its language is, "One is hungry and another is surfeited." And even if we were compelled to concede such a reference, and to translate, as in the A. V., "drunken," it would then merely indicate that at that early date *this* Church had departed from the original custom of the feast, had surreptitiously introduced intoxicating liquor, and

* "Presb. Review," Jan., 1882, p. 95. † Lange, "Comm.," *in loc.*

‡ In the last issue of the Quarterly (p. 477, l. 4) we were inadvertently betrayed into the use of an expression which may appear inconsistent with this statement and with the real facts in the case.

§ "Presbyterian Review," April, 1882, p. 322.

‖ "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1882, p. 477.

had turned the holy sacrament into a drunken revel. It is certain that their sin, whatever it was, whether selfish surfeiting or riotous drinking, and wherever committed, whether at the agapæ or the Eucharist, drew down upon them the unsparing condemnation of the apostle. It still further appears that some of the Corinthian church members had even dared attend the festivals of the heathen gods, (1 Cor. x, 19, f.,) and drink of the intoxicating wines which flowed so freely on those occasions. That drink St. Paul denounced as "the cup of devils," (1 Cor. x, 21,) and put it in startling contrast with "the cup of the Lord," (1 Cor. x, 21,) which he had just called "the cup of blessing," (v, 16,) and which, with all the force of the comparison, is shown to be a totally different thing, an innocent and unintoxicating drink.

In pursuing an inquiry as to the practice of the early Church in this matter, it is necessary to bear in mind and give due weight to one fact, namely: Deviations from the primitive simplicity and purity of Christianity and its institutions began almost immediately, and perpetuated themselves inveterately. Abuses and corruptions crept into the Church, gradually at first, but rapidly afterward, always obscuring, and often wholly obliterating the original intentions of its Founder. In no instance was this tendency to perversion earlier or more extensively manifested than in that of the Lord's Supper.* Before the close of the third century we find this ordinance corrupted from a spiritual service into a sacerdotal act; the plain table converted into a priestly altar; the simple elements changed into sacrificial offerings and made the objects of adoration; and the eucharistic feast transformed into an expiatory rite.† Another century had not passed before the keynote of the doctrine of transubstantiation had been struck by Ambrose and Chrysostom,‡ a doctrine which was dogmatically decreed by the fourth Lateran Council in the thirteenth century. Two centuries later the practice of withholding the cup from the laity, which for three hundred years had been extending, was authoritatively established by the Council of Constance, (A. D. 1415.) Now it would not be strange if, amid all these mani-

* *Vide* Stanley's "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., chap. iii, *passim.*

† *Vide* Pressensé, "Christian Life in the Early Church," book II, *passim.*

‡ Pope, "Compendium of Theology," iii, 329.

fold and monstrous corruptions of the primitive Supper, we should find that the simple juice of the grape, consecrated by Christ to this service, had been displaced by an altogether different and utterly inappropriate material. We know that the other element, the bread of common life such as Christ used, has been, by the greater part of Christendom and for ages, without rebuke or dissent, degraded into the smallest particle of paste, known as "the wafer."* The Roman Church, by whom all these abuses have been introduced and perpetuated, place the intoxicating cup upon their ecclesiastically restricted altar. And Protestantism, it must with shame be confessed, has not as yet very generally freed itself from this "relic of Popery." But how was it in the early ages of the Church? Some traces of adherence to the original custom certainly remain. One of the most important is found in the apocryphal "Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew," which was current in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.† A passage in this work reads, (Sec. 25 :) ‡ *Καὶ προσενέγκατε προσφορὰν ἄρτον ἄγιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς βότρυας ἀποθλίψαντες ἐν ποτηρίῳ συγκοινωνήσατέ μοι, ὡς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὑπέδειξεν τὴν ἄνω προσφορὰν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν*, "Bring ye also as an offering holy bread, and, having pressed three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us how to offer up when he rose from the dead on the third day." This is clear and positive testimony as to the use of the freshly expressed juice of the grape in the celebration of the Lord's Supper at that primitive period. The view which the early Church took of the bread and wine of the holy communion, as offerings of the first-fruits of the earth,§ and the canon of the African Church requiring the offerings from which the bread and wine for the great communion at Easter were prepared to be of unground wheat and unpressed grapes, (*ἀπὸ σταφυλῶν καὶ σίτου,*) ‖ both point to the use of a fresh and unfermented wine. That the practice of pressing the grapes directly into the cup at the Supper was preserved,

* Stanley, "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 43.

† *Vide* Prolegomena to "The Apocryphal Acts and Epistles" in Clarke's "Ante-Nicene Christian Library."

‡ "Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha," edidit C. Tischendorf. Leipsiae, 1851, p. 184.

§ Irenæus, (*Adv. Hæres.*, iv, 17, 18,) *offere primitias Deo ex suis creaturis.*

‖ Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," xv, 2, 3.

is still further apparent from the action of the third Council of Braga, (A. D. 675,) which relates Cyprian's words, correcting several other abuses that were crept into the administration of this sacrament, among which it mentions *quosdam etiam expressum vinum in sacramento Dominici calicis offere*, "Some even who presented no other wine at the sacrament of the Lord's cup but what they pressed out of the clusters of grapes."* Let it be noticed that this fresh juice is called *vinum*, wine; that the charge is brought by a Church which had itself completely corrupted the ordinance; and that the gravamen of the charge is not that the wine is unfermented, but that it is unmixed with water.† That objection, however, had been met three centuries before by Pope Julius I., (A. D. 337,) in a decree which read:‡ *Sed si necesse sit, botrus in calice comprimatur et aqua misceatur*, "But if necessary let the cluster be pressed into the cup and water mingled with it." This decree is quoted as authoritative by Durandus in the thirteenth century, who says:§ *Botrus ante uvae in necessitate comprimi et inde confici potest; sed de ipso botro non compresso non potest communicari*, "In case of necessity the cluster may be pressed beforehand and the sacrament made therefrom; but with the unpressed cluster communion cannot be had." Thomas Aquinas, in the same century, also cited and confirmed this seventh decree of Julius, and added his testimony to the lawfulness and propriety of using unfermented wine at the sacrament:‖ *Mustum autem jam habet speciem vini . . . ideo de musto potest confici hoc sacramentum.* "Must has the specific nature of wine, therefore this sacrament can be kept with must." In the "Manipulus Curatorum"¶ (1333) we are likewise informed that the sacrament may be celebrated in *mustum*. Similarly, Jacobus à Vitriaco, a cen-

* Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," xv. 2, 3.

† The practice of mingling the wine with water, noticed by Justyn Martyr, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nyassa, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, and many other Greek and Roman writers, would have its origin, not necessarily in the weakening of alcoholic wine, but in the thinning of boiled wines and the thick juices of the crushed clusters.

‡ Gratian, Pars. III, "De Consecr," Dist. ii, c. vii.

§ "Ration. Div. Off." Lugd., 1505, L. iv, c. xli, n. 10.

‖ Pars. III, Quæst. lxxiv, Art. 5.

¶ Pars. I, tr. iv, c. iii, fol. xxii, 2. London, 1509.

tury before, had said:* "The sacrament may be made of *mustum*, though it be sweet, for it is wine." Dionysius Barsalibi testified to the same effect:† *In necessitate sumatur uvarum succus, aut ex uvis passis liquor expressus . . . cum isto Liturgia celebrari potest*, "In necessity let the juice of grapes be taken, or the liquor expressed from dried grapes; . . . with this the sacrament may be celebrated." In the twelfth century Johannes Belethus called attention to the practice of observing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the freshly expressed juice of the grape on the Day of Transfiguration. He says:‡ : *Notemus quidem Christi sanguinem eadem hac die confici ex novo vino, si inveniri potest, aut aliquantulum ex matura uva in calicem expressa*, "Let us notice that on this same day the blood of Christ is set forth from new wine, if it can be found, or from ripe grapes expressed into the cup." Durandus mentions the sacramental use of such wine on the 6th of August, under like circumstances, as a custom *nota in quibusdam locis*, "well known in certain places."§ The evidence of ecclesiastical history on this subject, so far as the Latin Church is concerned, is well summed up by Scudamore, who says:‖ "In the case of necessity, the expressed juice has always been held to be wine for the purpose of the sacrament."

Within the pale of the Oriental Churches, where Christianity was earliest established, and has, in many respects, been preserved in greatest purity,¶ we find proofs of the long-established use of unfermented wine at the Lord's Supper. This is true of the Abyssinian Church, which is, in all probability, the lineal descendant of that founded by the first Ethiopian convert, (Acts viii, 27.) According to the traveler Bruce,** "The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds, in unleavened bread and in grapes bruised with the husk together as it grows." Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem, bears similar tes-

* "Hist. Occid.," c. xxxviii, p. 423.

† Renaudot, "Lit. Orient." Paris, 1716, Coll. i, p. 194.

‡ Migne, "Patrol. C. C.," v. 202.

§ "Ration. Div. Off." Ludg., 1565, L. vii, c. xxii.

‖ "Notitia Eucharistica." London, 1876, p. 771.

¶ "The Greek Churches are more tenacious of ancient usage than the Latin." Stanley, "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 43.

** "Travels in Abyssinia," Halifax, 1840, p. 245.

timony as to the practice of this Church.* It is, in fact, conceded on all sides, and has undoubtedly been the common custom of that body of Christians from the earliest times.† The same may be said of the Coptic Church, which Dean Stanley calls "the most primitive and conservative of all Christian Churches."‡ Tischendorf, in his narrative of a visit to the Coptic monasteries of Egypt in 1846, writes:§ "Instead of wine they used a thick juice of the grape, which I at first mistook for oil." The Christians of St. John who dwell along the Jordan valley, and claim to have received the Gospel from the Apostle John, according to the testimony of Baron Tavernier in the seventeenth century, used wine from dried grapes steeped in water, "in the consecration of the cup."‖ Similarly Thevenot says of this people,¶ "As for the wine of their consecration, they make use of wine drawn from dried grapes steeped in water, which they express; and they use the same wine for moistening the flour whereof they make the host." The Christians of St. Thomas on the Malabar coast in the south of India, who are an offshoot from the ancient Christian Church of Persia, follow a like custom. Duarté Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, writes that they celebrate the Lord's Supper in the juice expressed from raisins "softened one night in water."** Bishop Osorius also testifies concerning these Christians:†† *Vino ex passis uvis confecto in sacrificiis utuntur*, "They use wine prepared from dried grapes in their sacrifices." Brerewood,‡‡ Ross,§§ Nelson,‖‖ and other authorities furnish additional evidence to the same effect. The Nestorians of Western Asia, who date back as a sect to the fifth century, likewise employ the expressed juice of dried grapes in their celebration of the Eucharist. Ainsworth,

* "Journal of a Sojourn in Abyssinia in 1834." London, 1834, pp. 223, 345.

† *Vide* Alvarez, "Itin. Æthiop.," in Renaudot, "Lit. Orient." coll. i, p. 193.

‡ "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 52.

§ "Travels in the East." Ed. by Shuckard. London, 1847, p. 50.

‖ "Travels in Persia." London, 1677. L. iii, c. 8, p. 90.

¶ "Travels in the Levant." London, 1687, Pars. ii, p. 164.

** Stanley in Hakluyt, "Description of East Africa and Malabar." London, 1866, p. 163.

†† "De Rebus." Olysipp, 1571, p. 143.

‡‡ "Division of Languages." London, 1614, p. 147.

§§ "Pansebeia." London, 1653, xiv, p. 508.

‖‖ "Fasts and Festivals," c. iv, p. 48.

in the account of his travels among that people in 1840,* records that "raisin water supplied the place of wine," the bishop administering the sacrament. Such is some of the evidence which we have of the use of unfermented wine in the observance of the Lord's Supper in the Churches both of the East and of the West, from the earliest periods of Christian history down to the present time.

We conclude, therefore, from our inquiry into the primitive character, connections, and customs of this ordinance, that our Lord did not use a fermented wine at its institution, nor did he command such an article to be employed in its enjoined observance throughout the centuries which were to come. On the contrary, every thing points to the use and sanction of the simple, unfermented, nutritious juice of the grape.

It remains for us to consider

II. Christ's use of wine on the cross.—The slight variations in the record of this event as given by the four evangelists are only such as prove the independence of the authors and the originality of their accounts. They do not in any wise render uncertain the fact that two very different draughts were offered our Saviour amid his last sufferings.

i. A drugged drink was proffered him, and promptly rejected. Both Matthew and Mark agree as to this. The other evangelists make no reference to it. Matthew calls the potion (xxvii, 34) "vinegar mixed with gall," *ὄξον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον*.† Mark terms it (xv, 23) "wine mingled with myrrh," *ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον*. The latter uses the generic word for wine; the former calls it by its specific name in this instance. Matthew copies his phraseology from the LXX, (Psa. lxix, 21.) The term *χολή*, gall, does not describe the animal secretion, but some bitter and narcotic herb, such as wormwood, poppy, myrrh, or even hemlock or mandragora.‡ It is used with this general sense in Deut. xxix, 18; Psa. lxix, 21; and Prov. v, 4. The mixture may have been one commonly administered to criminals at their execution to alleviate their sufferings. Some of the rabbis understood Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, as an injunction to

* "Travels in Asia Minor." London, 1842, ii, p. 210.

† The R. V., following Codices Aleph, B, and D, has wine (*οἶνον*) instead of vinegar (*ὄξον*). With this reading the Vulgate agrees, having *vinum*.

‡ Ellicott, "Comm.," *in loc.*

such works of mercy.* There are said to be traces of the existence of a society at Jerusalem which made this its especial duty.† Possibly in the present instance the draught was proffered the Saviour by the women alluded to in Luke xxiii, 27. But, however compounded, or by whomsoever presented, "when he had tasted thereof he would not drink." (Matt. xxvii, 34; Mark xv, 23.) The fact that he did not reject this potion until he had tasted it, indicated his willingness to receive any simple liquid to allay his thirst. He refused to drink this, because it was stupefying, and would have dimmed his consciousness and diminished the fullness of his sufferings. He deliberately chose to finish his mission in the full possession of his powers. Whatever may have been the nature of the *οἶνος* with which the *χολή* was mixed, the draught was rejected, not on account of the former, but of the latter ingredient. The act, therefore, does not bear directly upon the question under consideration. If it has any lesson for us, it is that we are not to seek a cowardly escape from the pains and trials of life in the stupefying drug or in the intoxicating cup. But afterward

ii. A drink of simple *ὄξος* was offered Christ and was accepted by him. Whether this was done twice, once in mockery, (Luke xxiii, 36,) and then later, in kindness, (Matt. xxvii, 48; Mark xv, 36; John xix, 29,)‡ or whether the four evangelists all narrate the same incident, is not important to our inquiry. Only John (xix, 30,) tells us directly that Jesus received the potion; but the language of the others, unless it be Luke's, is consistent with such an interpretation. If it should appear on investigation that this drink was a fermented and intoxicating article, as Dr. Moore would have us understand that it was,§ in order that he may thus convict Christ

* So Lightfoot and Schoettgen, ("Hor. Heb.," Leips., 1733, p. 236.) An attempt is made to explain the above passage as a command of this sort by some scholars of to-day. But Christ's refusal of this potion is sufficient proof "that the spirit that was in him" could never have sanctioned such a practice. That spirit points to prayer and not to drink as a refuge from the ills of life. (James v, 13.) Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, is, doubtless, to be understood as a satirical and ironical command, similar to Amos iv, 5, "Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving *with leaven*."

† Ellicott, "Comm.," *in loc.*, who refers to Deutsch's "Essays," p. 33.

‡ So Lightfoot, Alford, Ellicott, Whedon, etc.

§ "Presbyterian Review," January, 1882, p. 86.

of actually using fermented liquor during passover week, (!) it would argue nothing as to his total abstinence principles, or as to our duty in this direction. It was taken under circumstances so utterly exceptional, the only possible analogy to which in our own case would be the medicinal use of stimulants, which we are not discussing, and that, too, administered when the work of life was done, and nothing remained but to soothe the dying agonies, that no inference could be drawn from it touching the subject in question.

But even this was not the case. The drink Christ received in his expiring moments was not alcoholic or intoxicating. Each of the four evangelists call it ὄξος, and in each case it is rendered (A. V. and R. V.) "vinegar." The term describes a drink which corresponded to the *chometz* of the Hebrews and the *acetum* of the Romans. It was a wine which had completed the acetous stage of fermentation, and was sour to a proverb, (Prov. x, 26.) The degree of its acidity may be inferred from Prov. xxv, 20, where its effect upon niter (carbonate of soda) is observed. By itself it formed a nauseous draught, (Psa. lxix, 21.) It was serviceable for the purpose of sopping bread as used by laborers, (Ruth ii, 14.) To this day the harvesters in Italy and the Peninsula use a similar article called *sera* and *pesca*.* In hot climates it formed, when diluted, a very refreshing draught,† like the buttermilk which is so favorite a beverage in our own South. By the Romans this wine was usually mixed with water, and was then termed *posca*.‡ It was not intoxicating.§ It was the regular beverage of the Roman soldiery when on duty.‖ A jar of this drink, which the soldiers had brought to sustain them in their long day's service, stood near the cross. When the suffering Saviour cried "I thirst" some one of their number, touched by rude pity, took the sponge, which had probably served instead of a cork to the jar, and lifted it to his parched lips. When he had received it, "he said, It is finished, and he bowed his head and gave up the ghost." (John xix, 30.) In

* Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopedia," art. "Wine."

† Pliny, "N. H.," xxiii, 26, cf. ii, 49.

‡ *Ibid.*, xix, 29.

§ *Vide* Plautus, ("Mil. Glor.," iii, 2, 23:)

Alii ebrii sunt, alii poscam potitant,

"Some are drunk, while others are drinking vinegar-water."

‖ Vegetius, De Re Mil., iv, 7; Spartianus, Hadr. 10.

this transaction, well nigh too awful for our most reverent contemplation, we find no warrant for the imputation that Jesus ever tasted of the intoxicating cup.

We have now completed our detailed examination of all the specifications of the charge which men, for nearly two thousand years, have brought against Christ, of using and sanctioning the use of fermented liquors as a beverage, and have found absolutely nothing to sustain them. On the other hand, all the evidence in the case, when carefully investigated and candidly interpreted, points to and sustains the entirely different conclusion, that Jesus was a total abstainer from all that could intoxicate, and gave no sanction to the use of alcoholic drinks by others under any circumstances.

Art. IV.—CHARLES JAMES FOX.

During the long conflict between England and America, which ended in the recognition of our National Independence, our cause had no champion in the British Parliament who so thoroughly comprehended the principles involved as Charles James Fox. Chatham, in the House of Peers, and Burke, in the House of Commons, protested eloquently against the war, but neither of them expounded the American view of the question with such crystalline clearness, nor expressed such undoubting confidence in the courage of the colonists, nor predicted the outcome of the conflict with such positiveness of conviction as Fox. The British public, grateful for his persistent endeavors to maintain and enlarge their political privileges, called Fox the "Friend of the People." And one cannot read his eloquent protests against shedding colonial blood, and his bold demands for the recognition of American Independence, without feeling that he had equal if not stronger claims to be held in grateful remembrance by Americans as having been, during the deadly struggle of their fathers for national existence, most emphatically the friend of America.

It was Fox's good fortune to be aristocratically born. Every advantage that flows from high social and political connec-

tions, and from almost unlimited wealth, was his inheritance. It was his misfortune to be the son of a thoroughly corrupt man, who, in the spirit of Lord Chesterfield, was so unnaturally wicked as to take pains to introduce this favorite son, at an early age, to the dissipation of the German Spa and to the beastly pleasures of gay life in Paris.

This detestable and universally detested father was Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, and one of the youngest sons of Stephen Fox, the founder of the Holland family. Stephen Fox was born in obscurity. But owing to his uncommon force of character, to the friendship of a nobleman who conceived a strong liking for him, and to a series of singularly fortunate events, he rose from the humble position of choir-boy in Salisbury Cathedral to the rank of staff officer in the army of the unfortunate King Charles I. After the final defeat of the cavaliers, Stephen Fox followed young Prince Charles to France, where he rendered the uncrowned wanderer very essential and valuable services. For these he was liberally rewarded by his royal master after the Restoration. He soon rolled in wealth, which, Evelyn says, "was honestly got, and unenvied." His administrative abilities must have been superior, and his principles, though not positively corrupt, somewhat facile; since, as Mr. Trevelyan observes, in his recent life of Fox, "he was a favorite with twelve successive Parliaments and with four monarchies."

Henry Fox, one of his younger sons, inherited much of his ability, but neither his honesty nor his patriotism. He was covetous, even to rapacity, ambitious of place and preferment, utterly lacking in self-respect, unfaithful to his political friends, and ready to sacrifice the advantage of the State to his own interests. His peerage, with the title of Lord Holland, was the price paid him by Lord Bute for securing, through bribery and intimidation, a majority of the House of Commons in favor of the "Peace of Paris." For this vile service he had been promised an earldom, but was compelled to be content with a barony. When reproaching Lord Bute for this breach of faith, the latter said it was only "a pious fraud." Fox quickly and wittily retorted, "I perceive the fraud, my lord, but not the piety."

Such, in his political life, was the father of Charles J. Fox.

In his domestic circle, however, he was another, and, in some respects, a far better, man. "There was no limit," says Trevelyan, "to the attachment he inspired and the happiness he spread around him. . . . His home presented a beautiful picture of undoubting and undoubted affection." But even in that affection he betrayed the absence of that "just distinction between right and wrong" which had proved the bane of his political career. "The notion of making any body of whom he was fond uncomfortable, for the sake of so very doubtful an end as the attainment of self-control, was altogether foreign to his creed and his disposition." Hence, though he was, as he confesses, "immoderately fond" of his son Charles, (who was born January 24, 1749,) yet because of his childish precocity, abounding good humor and piquant pertness, he made no attempt to correct the engaging little fellow's faults. "Never mind," said he to his wife, when she spoke somewhat anxiously one day about the boy's passionate temper, "he is a very sensible little fellow and will learn to cure himself."

This reply was characteristic of his general method of dealing with Charles. "Let nothing be done to break his spirit: the world will do that business fast enough," said this foolishly fond father. Acting on this theory, he became such a slave to the young child's whims, that when the willful fellow declared one day that he would destroy a watch which had fallen into his hands, Lord Holland replied, "Well, if you must, I suppose you must."

When Charles was seven years old his too-indulgent father permitted him to decide whether he would stay at home or go to school. If he chose going to school, would he go to an aristocratic academy at Wandsworth, or to the more public school at Eton? The boy chose the former, attended it eighteen months, and then resolved to go to Eton. There his brilliant abilities, his "sagacity," his "fascinating and masterful character," won the admiration of his teachers and the good-will of his fellow-pupils. Trevelyan says of him, when fourteen years old: "Never was there a more gracious child, more rich in promise, more prone to good."

At that critical moment in a child's life Lord Holland took his promising boy to Germany and France. There, with unnatural disregard for the claims of morality and decency, he

taught him his first lessons in those expensive vices which afterward stained his private life, subjected him to many pecuniary embarrassments, and circumscribed his usefulness to society. But despite his father's vile pandering to his lower nature, the lad's intellectual aspirations were stronger than his love for the pleasures of Paris. Hence, after four months, he wished to return to Eton. There, though much given to sociality and questionable amusements, he was a diligent student, gained distinction for school-boy eloquence, and displayed the germs of those great qualities of mind which subsequently led Burke to call him "the greatest debater the world ever saw."

In 1764 Fox left for Oxford. Here he found the gentlemen commoners, with whom he associated, indifferent to college studies, but enthusiastic in their pursuit of the pleasures of "high life." Fox joined heartily in their card parties and other amusements; yet not so fully as to prevent him from being a hard reader, an earnest student of mathematics and of the classics. These studies were magnets to his active intellect, and pursuing them, as he did, for their own sake, he won the distinction of being almost the only really diligent student in his class. Writing of his college studies after the close of the first year, Trevelyan says: "Three more years of such a life would have fortified his character and molded his tastes; would have preserved him from untold evil, and quadrupled his influence as a statesman. But every thing the poor fellow tried to do for himself was undone by the fatal caprice of his father."

That caprice led Lord Holland to interrupt his son's studies by taking him to Paris in 1765; to remove him from college in the spring of 1766; to keep him traveling on the continent until he procured him a seat in the House of Commons in 1768. While on his travels in Italy and France, Fox led a double life. Having unlimited supplies of money, being associated with Lord Carlisle, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Uvedale Price, three wealthy young men of his own age, whose names, like his own, caused the doors of courts and palaces to be opened for their entertainment, it was not surprising that young Fox with his friends plunged deeply into the follies and sins of fashionable circles. Lord John Russell says of his life at this period, that it was "thoughtless, idle, and licentious;

his letters treat of private theatricals, of low amours, and of the distinctions and promotions of his friends."

But if his life had its sensuous it had also its intellectual side. If the seeds of sensuality sown during his boyhood by his father's guilty hand produced a rank crop of vices, his nobler intellect occasionally asserted its power over his passions, put a measure of restraint on his devotion to low pursuits, and stimulated him to acquire the Italian language, and to study with enthusiasm the treasures of Italian literature. It rarely happens that a young man can be both profligate and studious. When sensuous passions rule they are imperious, and are apt to extend their empire until it includes both body and mind. But there was something so regal in the mind of Fox that it was able to protect itself against the absolute domination of the sensuous side of his nature. In spite of the latter it would seek food suited to his demands. And it did this with a degree of energy which enabled Fox to make himself master of whatever subject he chose to study. He had the power, in a very exceptional measure, of throwing the entire force of his mind into whatever he undertook, whether it was to play a game of chess, to return a tennis ball, or to feast on the beauties of Dante or Ariosto. In all things it was his motto "to labor at excellence." Hence his attainments were acquired, not by a genius that absorbed knowledge without effort, but by genius which on occasions followed the wise man's precept, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." He confessed this when, to an admiring friend who asked him the secret of his skill at tennis, he replied, "I am a very painstaking man."

In the spring of 1768, when Fox was only nineteen years old, Lord Holland purchased a seat in Parliament for his favorite boy, and called him away from the dissipations of Paris to the equally corrupt associations of high life in London. Those pessimists who fancy our own age and country to be wallowing in the lowest deeps of social and political corruption, should review their studies of English society as it was when Charles Fox appeared in the House of Commons as the representative of the pocket borough of Midhurst. Our own times are, no doubt, sufficiently wicked to awaken the anxieties of the moralist and patriot. But they are pure when com-

pared with those of Fox. His was an age disfigured in its aristocracy by every vice but hypocrisy; for it made no attempt to conceal but rather gloried in its vices. Gaming, racing, betting, place-hunting, venality, servility, extravagance, licentiousness, drunkenness, bribery, and dishonesty were almost universal in the fashionable circles to which young Fox, in virtue of his father's immense wealth and high connections, had free access. What could be expected after his continental experiences, but that he should seize on these pleasures of the town with avidity? That he did so we have too abundant testimony. Lord John Russell, writing of the beginning of his political career, says: "It is to be lamented that during this period of his life Mr. Fox entered deeply, almost madly, into the pursuit of gaming." Lord Egremont afterward suspected that he was the dupe of foul play. Be that as it might, he borrowed to such an extent that the purchase of the annuities he had granted cost his fond and indulgent father no less a sum than £140,000.

The same authority affirms that, as late as 1783, George III. looked upon him as a dissolute and unprincipled man "in whom he could place no confidence;" and that after his release "from the forced industry of office he fell back into licentious habits and idle dissipation." Horace Walpole also said: "Fox was dissolute, dissipated, idle beyond measure."

That these moral stains spotted the character of so distinguished a friend of constitutional freedom is, as Lord Russell observes, "to be lamented." It is also matter of regret that during the first five years of his public life Fox gave the influence of his great abilities, not to the friends of parliamentary liberty, but to the supporters of the Crown in its persistent efforts to govern by royal prerogative through a servile ministry and a venal majority in the House of Commons. The demoralizing effect of this policy sometimes made itself apparent even to its narrow-minded though well-meaning author, George III. Hence, when speaking to an ex-governor of Gibraltar of the fact that he, as governor, had corresponded with no less than five Secretaries of State, the king observed: "This trade of politics is a rascally business. It is a trade for a scoundrel and not for a gentleman."

That royal brain must have been strangely dull not to perceive that it was not the nature of things, but his policy, which made the politics of his kingdom a "rascally business." But young Fox, coming into the House of Commons "as into the hunting field, glowing with anticipations of enjoyment;" without any fixed political principles; with his patriotism as yet unawakened; with no serious views of the importance of his position; with no active sense of responsibility either to God or man for his political action; with little to guide him besides the theories of public life derived from his place-hunting father and his own self-seeking associates, very naturally fell into the ranks of the majority which supported the pretensions of the throne. "He was willing," says Trevelyan, "to serve the government as a partisan." Hence we find him entering warmly into the celebrated and protracted contest between the king and the Tories on the one side, and the notorious John Wilkes, supported by Burke and the Whigs, on the other. Wilkes was beyond question a very corrupt man; but when the king sought to crush him by extra-judicial proceedings because he had taught that "ministers are responsible for the contents of the royal speech," public opinion condemned his majesty and defended Wilkes. Popular sympathy with this persecuted demagogue rose to fever heat. He was triumphantly elected to Parliament by the freeholders of Middlesex. The king's servile majority in the House of Commons, in defiance of law, expelled him. His expulsion made him the representative of a principle which is the corner-stone of English liberty—the right of the people to elect whom they will to represent them in the House of Commons. For his heroic defense of this principle through several years of bitter and cruel persecution, Wilkes became the idol of the people. Supported by popular enthusiasm without, and by great Chatham, Burke, and the Whigs inside both Houses of Parliament, he finally triumphed over his royal persecutor. And, to cite Mr. Gladstone, "whether we choose it or not, Wilkes must be enrolled among the great champions of English freedom."

Remembering that Fox became one of the most prominent advocates of political liberty known to English history, one is at a loss to fully explain why he sided with the king and won his earliest reputation for oratory by his speeches against

Wilkes. Had he been silent, his frivolous and dissipated life might be accepted as its cause, since a sensual life usually causes indifference to great principles and lofty sentiments. But Fox made speeches which implied attention and reflection on the questions which were convulsing the nation. How then could his mind, which in subsequent years responded, as by intuition, to every noble sentiment and liberal political theory, see rectitude in the policy of the king, or help seeing unqualified wrong in the expulsion of Wilkes by the House of Commons? Was he playing the hypocrite? One is unwilling to accept so disreputable a solution. Is it not more probable that he was as yet governed by his purpose to be a placeman and a partisan of the Crown; that this purpose, dominating both his intellect and moral sentiments, kept him from viewing this or any other great question on its own merits, and led him to look no further than to find the best arguments within reach of his mind with which to defend the policy of the Crown? Viewed in any light, his early parliamentary career was utterly out of harmony with his later life; nor, as Lord John Russell observes, "did it give any promise of that strenuous contest for freedom to which he afterward devoted his eloquence and his life."

It did, however, contain the promise of that wonderful power in debate which made his name famous. One wonders at that calm courage and self-reliance which enabled him, while yet a young man of twenty, new to the House and its usages, to take the floor and make a speech on so uninspiring a theme as a point of order. This maiden speech, if without other effect, taught him not to be alarmed at the sound of his own voice; and his air and manner so charmed an artist who was present, that, the use of paper in the House being forbidden in those days, he "tore off part of his shirt, and furtively sketched a likeness of the young declaimer, on which in after days those who were fondest of him set not a little store."

A few weeks later, on April 14, 1769, Fox plunged into the great debate in the Wilkes case, with Burke for an opponent. "He won the attention of all and the admiration of most by a fluency and fire which promised better things." In a still more stirring debate, in a crowded House, after speeches by the learned Wedderburn and the eloquent Burke, he made a

speech against the right of the electors of Middlesex to elect Wilkes which astonished both friends and foes. Of this speech Horace Walpole wrote: "Charles Fox answered Burke with great quickness and parts." Sir Richard Heron said, "Fox made a great figure. . . . He spoke with great spirit in very parliamentary language, and entered very deeply into the question on constitutional principles." Lord Holland, his father, said: "I hear his speech spoken of by every body as a most extraordinary thing." The succeeding January he won the applause of the House by his reply to an impressive speech of Wedderburn's, in which that acute lawyer affirmed that there was no precedent for the action proposed by the majority. Fox immediately produced a case in point, and "the House roared with applause." A month later the Prime Minister, Lord North, recognized the value of his services to his party by appointing him one of the junior Lords of the Admiralty.

It could not be reasonably expected that Fox, who had never known constraint, who was abundantly supplied with money from the vast resources of his father, whose independent, ambitious soul refused to be bound with a chain, would long submit to be led by the arbitrary will of a narrow-minded king. Nor did he; for, after retaining his place only two years, he resigned it that he might be at liberty to oppose the Royal Marriage Act, which was intended to restrain members of the royal family from marrying subjects, by requiring the royal consent in order to their legitimacy. Fox's high sense of honor forbade him, while in office, to oppose a measure which the king favored and the premier was obliged to support. His opposition did not prevent the passage of the Act; but it led to its modification, so far as to permit such marriages without the king's consent after the parties had reached the age of six and twenty, unless both Houses of Parliament disapproved.

Fox also brought in a bill to correct an old marriage bill, to which Lord North professed to be, if not favorable, at least indifferent. Fox sustained his motion with amazing "spirit and memory," wrote Lord Oxford, against the rhetoric of Burke and the arguments of Lord North, who, in violation of his promise to be silent, finally entered the lists against him, but was beaten by a close vote when the House divided.

In acting thus independently of his party leader, Fox not only disclaimed a purpose to enter the ranks of the Opposition, but avowed his firm faith in the principles of Lord North. Hence, a few months later, he was in office again as one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. But the charm of office, ambitious as he was to be in it, was not strong enough to subdue his daring spirit, which was formed, not to follow, but to lead. Having persuaded North to support his motion to commit Woodfall, the printer of Horne Tooke's sharp criticisms on the Speaker of the House of Commons, to Newgate, he led that vacillating politician into the disgrace of a bad defeat. The king, on learning the ill fortune of his servile minister, was "greatly incensed at the presumption of Charles Fox," who, he said, had "thoroughly cast off every principle of common honor and honesty; he must become as contemptible as he is odious." This outburst of royal wrath was speedily followed by a laconic note from Lord North to Fox, saying: "His majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name!"

This politely worded insult deeply wounded the self-respect of the young orator. It opened his eyes to see that to be a placeman under the reigning sovereign, he must needs become a political slave. No member of the House of Commons had rendered more effectual service in support of the measures designed to suppress freedom of speech, to fetter the press, to restrict the liberties of the people, and to encourage corruption at the "hustings." So recklessly and insultingly had he spoken in favor of the arbitrary claims of the Crown and against the rights of the people, that, says Trevelyan, "for his age he was the most unpopular man, not only in England, but in English history." He had a severe demonstration of his unpopularity while the proceedings against Woodfall and Horne Tooke were pending. Goaded to the point of riot by the measures of the House, a vast crowd of the citizens of London surged round the approaches to St. Stephens. Presently the carriage of Fox, bearing the arms of the Holland family on its panels, made its appearance. No sooner was he recognized than his horses were stopped, his carriage wrecked, and his gay attired person pelted with oranges, stones, and mud, and finally rolled in the gutter. Yet, although by his brilliant and effective cham-

pionship of the policy of the Crown, he made himself the object of the popular contempt expressed by these violent proceedings, the king, who had never trusted him, had turned him out of office because in a few instances he had acted independently of the royal will. If Fox had ever flattered himself that he could bring the generous feelings and noble sentiments which, in spite of his vices, were at work in his bosom, into harmony with the life of a placeman under such a monarch, his rude dismissal from office effectually dispelled that illusion.

Mr. Trevelyan, remarking on this critical period in his life, says, "If at an age when his character was still malleable, his premature ambition had been tempted by the offer of the highest place in the State he might have gone down to the execration of posterity as the Wentworth of the eighteenth century." He might certainly, because ambition is a passion whose corrupting influence is often potent even in noble natures. But Fox had this in his favor—he was neither sordid nor avaricious, and therefore not attracted to a placeman's career by its pecuniary profits. Neither was he supremely selfish. On the contrary, he was generous and disinterested when appeals were addressed to the noble side of his nature. It was his instinctive perception of these latter qualities that made the king distrust Fox from the start. The Tory leaders shared the mistrust of their royal master. On the other hand, Burke, Rockingham, and other Whig statesmen, saw in these qualities ground for a belief that their vehement opponent would, sooner or later, feel the inspiration of great principles, and become a leader in their contest for the maintenance of the theory of parliamentary government established by the Revolution of 1688. Their expectation was justified. Fox did, after five years of partisan efforts, embrace patriotic principles with a grasp so firm, with a persistence so enduring, and an earnestness so absorbing, that one loves to think the highest office in the gift of the Crown, though it might have delayed, would not have prevented his becoming "the man of the people."

Among the principal causes which were working to produce the great change in his political character which became apparent after his expulsion from office, was the friendship of Burke, who was strongly drawn to him while he was yet a

champion of the king's policy. Their friendly conversations made Fox acquainted with Burke's liberal principles, for the reception of which his mind was prepared by his occasional studies. Taine, in his "History of English Literature," says that Fox "learned every thing without study." That eloquent writer was mistaken. Fox, in spite of idle habits and vicious amusements, was at times an ardent student of English history, of constitutional law, and of the Greek, Italian, and English poets. These studies he pursued, chiefly in parliamentary vacations, at King's Gate, his father's beautiful estate in a secluded part of the county of Kent. They, with Burke's conversations, were the fountains whence flowed those great principles and noble sentiments which, after quickening his slumbering patriotism into life, sustained his chivalric courage through long, dreary years of parliamentary defeat, and gave his oratory a power more dreaded by the enemies of political freedom than the more polished eloquence of Burke or the impassioned flights of Sheridan.

Lord North's insulting note marks the terminal point of Fox's advocacy of theories adverse to popular liberty. Disgusted with his treatment, he ceased at once to be a place-hunter, and began to look around for nobler aims. Nor had he long to wait or far to look. A question of immeasurable importance to the interests of mankind invited his attention. The people of America were preparing to throw down the gauntlet of defiance to the claim of right on the part of the English government to tax them without their consent. They had repudiated the Stamp Act; thrown the contents of the tea-ships into Boston harbor; assembled a Congress; and were preparing to accept the dread wager of battle, if the mother country persisted in pressing her unjust claims. Then Fox, emancipated by the act of the king from all obligation to view the question from the standpoint of a partisan, and impressed by the sublime spectacle of a few feeble colonies deliberately preparing to defend their liberties, on the field of battle, against the might of England's army and navy, grasped the great principles involved in the coming conflict with a giant's strength. In a telling speech, he warned the Crown of the consequences of its false policy; saying to its representatives, "If you persist, I am clearly of the opinion you will force

them"—the Americans—"into open rebellion." In another speech, he bravely declared that the line of conduct pursued by the government toward America consisted of "violence and weakness." And when, at the opening of a new session of Parliament in the winter of 1775, Lord North moved a resolution urging the king to employ force to maintain his policy in America, Fox offered a substitute, praying his majesty to speedily change his policy. Rising to the height of the great occasion, he supported his motion by a masterly speech, protesting against proceeding to war. So broad and elevated was this speech, that Gibbon, the historian, who was present, said that it took in the "vast compass of the question, and discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies had dreaded."

Chatham opposed the king's policy of using force against the Americans. So, also, did Lord Rockingham, the leader of the Whig party; and Burke, whose magnificent oratory was the wonder of the House. But neither of those great statesmen looked as deeply into the principles of our Revolution as Fox. Chatham, while affirming that England had no right to tax America, maintained that she had unlimited power to fetter its trade. Rockingham and Burke did not deny the right of England to tax, but opposed the policy of enforcing it. Fox went to the root of the question, denying the right, condemning the policy, and predicting the independence of the colonies as the certain issue of the war. His advocacy of these views gave a far higher character to his speeches than could be claimed for those he made while he was a free lance and a partisan. Then they had excited wonder and admiration, but did not command confidence and respect; now their depth, breadth, and real earnestness, proclaimed him to be a man inspired by clear, strong political convictions. His bold abandonment of the party in power illustrated his disinterestedness. As a result, although he still retained the vices of his youth, he gradually won the respect and confidence of those illustrious men who were contending for parliamentary independence and for justice to America. He chose to stand bravely fighting for the right, without allying himself to any party, for two or three years; but in 1778, under the leadership of Lord Rockingham in the Upper House, he joined the

Whigs, and became their recognized leader in the House of Commons.

The Tory majority in the house was so large, and so strongly supported by the Crown, the aristocracy, and the wealthy classes generally, that Fox was the leader of what appeared to be "a forlorn hope." But he had faith in his principles, in the Americans, and in himself. His courage was inexhaustible. Though his little band was constantly defeated, he never quailed; never yielded to discouragement, though at times many, not excepting Lord Rockingham, were disposed to let the majority carry out its policy unopposed. But Fox, with marvelous elasticity of spirit, constantly renewed the fight after every failure to carry the House. His eloquence gathered fresh fuel from defeat. He censured the measures of the ministry in scorching philipics; he warned the king with boldness almost amounting to audacity; he demanded the discontinuance of the war; and, after Cornwallis surrendered, he insisted on recognizing unconditionally the independence of the triumphant colonies, without waiting for the re-establishment of peace with France.

When Cornwallis fell, in 1782, Lord North resigned his premiership; Lord Rockingham succeeded him. The king, conquered by circumstances, consented to the formation of a ministry in which Fox should hold the portfolio of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Horace Walpole, by no means a friendly witness, says of his administration of this high office, "Fox shone as greatly in place as in opposition. He was now as indefatigable as he formerly was idle. . . . The foreign ministers admired him. He pleased, yet inspired respect." He set himself most zealously and judiciously to secure peace both with France and America. He had scarcely gathered the delicate threads of the needful diplomacy into his hands, when the death of Lord Rockingham, and the secret intrigues of a minority of the cabinet, who were at heart opposed to him, led Fox to resign his office.

This step was regarded as a political blunder by many of his friends. It also injured his prestige with the people, because its motives could not be given to the public without putting in peril the pending question of peace with France and America. It was attributed by some to his jealousy of Shel-

burne, Secretary for Home Affairs; but the facts in the case seem to show that Shelburne had dishonorably meddled, through a secret agent, with the diplomacy of Fox at Paris. Disgusted with this interference, he could not harmonize his continuance in office with his self-respect so long as Shelburne remained in the cabinet. His act was, no doubt, unfortunate in its results. It wrought injury to his party, to the country, and to himself. Nevertheless, if he was correct, as he probably was, in his view of Shelburne's conduct, it is difficult to see how he could have consistently acted otherwise. His resignation, and the death of Rockingham, led to the formation of a new ministry under Lord Shelburne. It also broke the unity of both the Whigs and Tories in the House of Commons; which, instead of the usual Ministerial and Opposition partisans, now divided into three parties, neither of which could command a majority.

In the spring of 1783, the House, led by Fox, censured the preliminaries of peace just accepted at Paris, and approved by the Shelburne ministry, which at once resigned. Then the friends of Lord North proposed a coalition ministry to Fox and his fellow Whigs. After much hesitation, Fox accepted the proposal, and became Secretary of State a second time, in a cabinet of which the Duke of Portland was Premier, and Lord North Secretary for Home Affairs.

This proved to be a second and serious political blunder on the part of Fox. Not that either he or North made any real sacrifice of principle, or that Fox, though broken in fortune by dissipation, sought the profits of a placeman; but because his coalition with a man against whom he had thundered so many philippics, and whose administration was burdened with the disgrace of military and parliamentary defeats, put Fox in a false position before the public. Many of his Whig friends, too, were dissatisfied, and Fox himself confessed that it was an act which, politically considered, could only be justified by its success and the benefits to the country which he hoped it might secure.

This coalition was a bitter pill to the king, who made no attempt to conceal his dislike of Fox and his contempt of North. But the king's discontent did not hinder Fox from entering zealously upon the duties of his office. Neither did it pre-

vent the discovery by foreign governments of his transcendent abilities, nor keep him, with the assistance of Burke's erudition and commanding eloquence, from carrying a bill for the better government of India triumphantly through the House of Commons. This bill, which proposed to place the authority hitherto claimed by the East India Company in the hands of seven commissioners, to be named, not by the king, but by Parliament, and not removable at the pleasure of the Crown, was, perhaps justly, regarded by the king as an unconstitutional restriction on the royal prerogative. To prevent its passage in the House of Lords he deputed Lord Temple to make it understood that he would regard every peer who should vote for the bill as an enemy of the Crown. This unwarrantable use of royal influence succeeded. The Lords threw out the bill. His majesty forthwith commanded Fox and North to send their seals of office to the palace by the hands of their under-secretary. Thus the ill-starred coalition fell to pieces. Fox was out of office again, and his great rival, William Pitt, entered a new cabinet as first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Though out of office, Fox continued to be leader of a majority in the House of Commons until the king dissolved Parliament at the close of 1784. A new election followed. It resulted in a complete overthrow of the party of Fox, which lost one hundred and sixty members. Fox himself was returned for Westminster. But he was destined henceforth to be the brilliant opponent of the administration and the leader of a minority which, but for himself and Burke, would have had very little influence on public affairs.

Fox met the unexpected defeat of his party with that firmness which is the impenetrable shield of great minds conscious of patriotic purposes. Writing to an intimate friend shortly after, he proudly said, "I have never sacrificed my principles to popularity or ambition. . . . I would rather be rejected, reprobated, proscribed. I would rather be an outcast of men in power and the follower of the most insignificant ministry, than prostitute myself into the character of a mean tool of secret influence."

These noble words were sincere, and had their justification in his actions when properly understood. They were also

prophetic. From that time, 1784, until 1806 he was proscribed by the Crown and the Tories, quite generally condemned by public opinion, and followed by only an insignificant minority. Nevertheless, his honor was untarnished, his courage undismayed, and his eloquence as commanding as ever. Though in opposition, neither the majority nor Pitt, its haughty and sagacious leader, dared despise him; nor was his opposition factious, but patriotic and even generous, inasmuch as he supported his great rival's measures whenever he thought them right and judicious. If he opposed Pitt's India Bill, he accepted his support, when, with Burke and Sheridan, he secured the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He stood side by side with Pitt in supporting Wilberforce in his bill against the slave-trade, and in securing a law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries. But when, after 1792, Pitt in his stern endeavors to suppress the Jacobin spirit which was projected from France into England, became the advocate of arbitrary government and of cruel laws adverse to civil liberty, Fox stood up against him as a wall of brass. His study of the theories of human rights, as embodied in the American Revolution, had prepared him to sympathize most fully with the French in their struggles to overthrow the despotism of their corrupt monarchy. So deep and strong was his sympathy, that it outlasted the first period of the French Revolution, and commanded his adhesion after it entered upon its period of bloodthirsty fanaticism. He did not, he could not, approve its crimes, but he continued to avow his faith in its principles long after the great body of English statesmen and intelligent citizens had turned against it with horror. When, under the leadership of the Girondins, it resolved itself into a system of democratic propagandism by the sword, and Pitt led his government into open war, Fox raised his ringing voice in opposition. So persistent, so decided, was his demand for peace, that he exasperated public opinion, sacrificed the friendship of Burke, and offended the greater number of his old friends and followers. Subsequent events demonstrated that the policy of England, especially its resistance to the march of Napoleon toward the Dictatorship of Europe, was sound and just. Fox, though sincere, was wrong, as indeed he subsequently confessed, inasmuch as but for English

gold and British blood, Napoleon would, in all probability, have become undisputed master of all continental Europe, if not of England also.

Fox battled bravely, if not always wisely, in opposition until 1797, when, disgusted with the subserviency of Parliament to ministerial dictation, and left without followers sufficient to keep up an efficient opposition, he discontinued his regular attendance on the House of Commons, and retired to his estate in the neighborhood of London, which was named St. Anne's Hill, and consisted of thirty acres of land and a small mansion. Here, abandoning his former habits of dissipation, he lived quietly in the society of his wife, whom he tenderly loved; devoting himself to agriculture, to the study of poetry and criticism, especially of the Greek tragedians, and to the composition of a "History of the Revolution of 1688"—a work, by the way, which, though able, added no luster to his great reputation. His life at St. Anne's Hill is described by his private secretary, Mr. John B. Trotter, as calm, tranquil, and happy. Like his father, he was a kind and gentle husband. His manners were simple, his disposition genial and placable. In conversation, at this period of his life, he was more reserved than in his early years; yet he was still sufficiently free to be a very agreeable companion in the domestic and social circles.

In 1801 the Peace of Amiens made it possible for Fox to visit France in search of materials for his "History." His well-known sympathy with the Revolution, and his eloquent efforts in behalf of peace between France and England, caused him to be received in Paris with great eclat, both by the public generally and by the most distinguished men of the time. When introduced to Napoleon, that wonderful soldier complimented him in language which would have been fulsome had it not been justified by the character of Fox.

In 1806 the death of Pitt compelled the king to invite Lord Grenville to form a new ministry. This nobleman consented to do so on the condition that Fox should take the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. To this the king, notwithstanding his deep-seated prejudices, consented. The people were getting sick of a war which up to this period had cost them many millions of money, with but little honor except from the

victories of the navy. Fox entered on his duties with a purpose to bring about an honorable peace, if possible, with a zeal which "gave his office a soul;" with a skill in organizing his methods of working which so impressed the king that, in spite of his foolish dislike to the secretary, he confessed that "the office was never conducted in such a manner before."

But the great orator's work was done, though not before he had reached the conviction that peace with honor was not attainable because of Napoleon's insatiable and unprincipled ambition. A mortal disease was poisoning the fountains of his life. Between the middle of June and the 13th of September he suffered "intolerable pains," and underwent repeated surgical operations, which he bore with courage, serenity, and self-possession. His chief anxiety was not for himself, but for his wife, for whose future support, owing to his costly vices, he had not been able to make suitable provision. He kept his mind from dwelling on his sufferings or on his approaching death, by listening to the daily reading of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" by Mr. Trotter, his private secretary, and by commenting on that writer's estimate of his favorite poets. Shortly before his death a young clergyman, called in by his friends, read prayers by his bedside. Fox listened quietly, with a look of resignation, but made no remark. Of his religious views and opinions little is known beyond Mr. Trotter's statement that he had "never observed the slightest inclination to doubt or unbelief;" that Fox "never meddled with abstruse and mysterious points in religion," but that he was "tolerant, benignant, and never disrespectful toward religion;" and that during his illness he "resigned himself to his Creator with calmness." Fox avowed that he felt no remorse. He expressed no desire for the pardon of his many sins. In the supreme moment he exclaimed, "I die happy!" and then passed into the invisible.

Evidently Fox had never cultivated the religious side of his nature. His assertion that he felt no remorse, viewed in connection with his many vices, is proof that his moral sense was also very partially developed. Nevertheless, paradoxical as it appears, it must be conceded that his life was adorned with many natural virtues. He possessed a courage which nothing could daunt. He was often grand in his magnanimity. He

was conspicuously true to his friends, and, after the first five years of his public life, incorruptibly loyal to his convictions. He held lies and liars in supreme contempt. He abhorred corruption, intrigue, and hypocrisy. His heart was a fountain of generous sentiment, out of which flowed his sunny temper, his lovable disposition, and also his hostility to the slave-trade, to war, to political oppression, and to religious intolerance. Nature had given him a noble mind. Had it been rightly trained; had its evil tendencies been checked instead of nourished by his unprincipled father; had religious affections become the guides and motives of his natural virtues, his character would have grown into a grandeur rarely paralleled in human history.

Alison eulogizes Fox as "the greatest debater that the English Parliament ever produced." Macaulay remarks, "He was, indeed, *a* great orator, but then he was *the* great debater." Lord Erskine shows that he possessed two prime qualifications of an orator—vigorous conceptions and a firm, sure grasp of the great principles involved in the question treated. His memory was astonishingly quick and ready, and his ability to gather information from every source available for his purpose was truly wonderful. He was not endowed with the deep feeling and grand imagination which made great Chatham's eloquence "like flashes from heaven;" his rhetoric was less magnificent and brilliant than Burke's. Sheridan had more passion and more abounding humor; the younger Pitt excelled him in logical acuteness; nevertheless his power of transparent statement, his ability to present a question in all its aspects, and to bring the reasoning of his opponent to the test of clearly defined and admitted principles; his vehement earnestness; and his rare geniality, which nothing could ruffle, gave him a measure of power over the understandings, the judgments, and the feelings of his hearers never surpassed by any other parliamentary orator. In impromptu debate he had no equal.

The influence of Fox over the course of events was inferior to that of his great rival, Pitt, who far excelled him in sagacity, in practical statesmanship, and in parliamentary tact. The part taken by Fox in his opposition to the war of England with her American colonies made him a radical democrat with

respect to the principles of human liberty. Working from such principles in the Parliament of a monarchical government, his proposed measures were often unsuited to the circumstances in which he was placed. His bold avowal of those theories when the relations of Revolutionary France with England were under discussion naturally excited the prejudices of his countrymen. His persistence in defending that Revolution after its lapse, first into a political fanaticism, and then into a system of democratic propagandism by means of the sword, and finally into military despotism in the hands of Napoleon, intensified those prejudices. Moreover, his radical theories, which were in advance of his times, gave a certain vagueness to his political ideas when he attempted to incorporate them into a legislative system founded on aristocratic principles. Hence it was not Fox, but the more practically sagacious Pitt, who held the helm of English affairs during the greater part of the public career of both. Nevertheless, as the sower of seed thoughts which took root in the national mind and which have subsequently greatly modified English law, enlarged the liberties of its people, circumscribed the power of the Crown, and made the British House of Commons the real ruler of that country, he was superior to all the statesmen and orators of his eventful times.

Art. V.—MADAME DE STAËL.

Madame de Staël. A Study of Her Life and Times—The First Revolution and the First Empire. By Abel Stevens, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 367, 373.

The English-speaking world has frankly acknowledged its indebtedness to a Frenchman—M. Taine—for the best history of English literature, and now offers at least a partial compensation in the best biography of the most noted of French women written by an American. It must be set down as one of the oddities of literature, that so gifted a woman as Madame de Staël, whose fame filled all Europe, and whose brilliant career furnished such abundant and attractive material, should have waited so long for an appreciative and competent biographer. There have been biographical sketches and *mémoires*

of her times in abundance, while every history of the Revolution and the First Empire contains references to her life of greater or less value; but heretofore no really adequate biography of this remarkable woman has appeared. The average American's knowledge of her has been derived principally from the one-sided eulogies and anecdotes of her friends, the partisan criticisms of her enemies, and a more or less imperfect acquaintance with her chief works of fiction. In the popular estimation she figures as a rather masculine woman of brilliant intellect and keen wit, with a talent for politics, and a leaning toward republicanism, which gave her great influence in the affairs of her times, and aroused the jealousy and fear even of Napoleon I. There is also prevailing an indefinite notion that she was an ambitious social queen, of somewhat doubtful morality, in the days when the Parisian *salon* was in its glory; and that, at one time or another, every great Frenchman of the period was compelled to acknowledge her power, while all cultured or titled foreigners in Paris sought her out and worshiped at her shrine.

It has been reserved for the graceful pen of Dr. Stevens, in the use of such old material as was at hand, and a great mass of new material furnished by Madame Récamier, M. Sismondi, and others, to introduce us to the real Madame de Staël, revealing the true nobleness of her character, letting us into the secret of her social influence, and unfolding to us that wonderful mind which grappled so successfully with the highest themes in the diverse realms of philosophy, criticism, history, politics, and ethics.

Dr. Stevens's plan, as implied in his title, is admirable, and really gives us a more correct idea of Madame de Staël than could possibly be imparted by even the most graphic narration of the mere personal facts of her life. These pages present her "in her relations to her times—the era of the First Revolution and the First Empire, its society, literature, and politics"—thus securing a distinctness of outline, a fullness of detail, and a justness of proportion otherwise unattainable. Our author has enjoyed the advantage of working in the midst of Madame de Staël's associations, and this, with his well-known skill in describing the life and manners of former days, gives a most gratifying air of reality and sprightliness to the entire

book. A prolonged residence in Geneva, "amid scenes consecrated by the memory of many great spirits," frequent visits to Coppet, with ready access to its securely guarded family archives, and an occasional sojourn in Paris, certainly leave nothing to be desired so far as circumstances favorable to such a literary undertaking are concerned. The work has appeared at a happy moment, in conjunction with the Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat and those of Prince Metternich; and in view of the author's past undeniable success in other fields of literature, we are not surprised to find it greeted with warm and almost universal commendation. The rapid sale of both the English and American editions proves that Dr. Stevens is as near to the heart of the great reading public as ever, and that his versatile pen has not lost its cunning. High praise has already been bestowed upon the book by the newspaper press, and by the more critical and stately magazines and quarterlies as well. One* says of it: "Dr. Stevens writes in full and eloquent sympathy with his heroine. He omits nothing which is important from the story. It is, indeed, no mean picture we have in these pages of the best there was of France at that time, of the France that made what was good in the Revolution." Another† says: "Dr. Stevens knows the literary uses of the imagination so well, that the tone, the atmosphere, the personages, of the *salon* are reproduced. To this much of the charm of this admirable work is due. Age cannot have withered the doctor's energy, or he would not have attempted a task which no French *littérateur* has dared to attempt. In his graceful preface, he declares that he has attempted it with diffidence; but he may await the verdict with confidence. We congratulate Dr. Stevens on the completion of a work which will heighten his fame, and which will stimulate in his brother ministers a love for literary enterprise, while it adds to the world's treasury of knowledge and intellectual delight." A third‡ says: "Dr. Stevens has employed his leisure well in preparing 'The Life and Times of Madame de Staël.' His book is encyclopedic in its fullness." A fourth§ says: "This biography follows Madame de Staël's career with sympathetic minuteness, increasing at every step

* "The Independent." † "The Christian Advocate."
‡ "The Atlantic Monthly." § "Harper's Magazine."

our esteem for her womanly virtues, heightening our admiration of her social graces and amenities, and extorting our respectful homage for her astounding intellectual activity and her wide mental range. Dr. Stevens's outlines of Madame de Staël's literary productions are valuable for the lucidity and pithy succinctness of their analysis, and his criticisms of them are fair and acute. The work is profoundly interesting, rich in light and graceful entertainment, as well as in food for deep thought."

The parents of Madame de Staël very properly receive a large share of attention in Dr. Stevens's first volume. Her mother, Susanna Curchod, was the daughter of the Swiss pastor of Crassier, a hamlet nestling in a quiet valley of the Jura Mountains, not far from Lausanne. She was a precocious child; but the wisdom and good sense of her father, the grand scenery of her native place, the tranquil life and unpretentious society of her early years, were all favorable to a symmetrical and thorough training of both body and mind. It is said that her education was as complete as fell to the lot of any woman in Europe. She was not only taught the classic and modern languages, but she became remarkably proficient in the various departments of science and literature. Through life the ancient poets, which she read with facility in the original, were her especial delight. Her father's plan was to fit her for an advanced position as a teacher, and in this he unconsciously qualified her for the triumphs which awaited her as a leader in the highest intellectual circles of Paris. Mademoiselle Curchod was beautiful in form and feature, and this, with her accomplished manners, her sparkling wit, and marvelous intellectual activity, made her a general favorite in the best society of Lausanne and Geneva, into which she was early introduced. The story of Gibbon's love for her is here told in the historian's own words, and adds a romantic luster to the already attractive picture of her youth. After her father's death her independent industry as a teacher, her high moral principle, and her modest but most engaging appearance in society, attracted to her a host of friends and admirers, especially in the literary circles of Geneva and Paris, to which latter city she went in 1763, as the companion and friend of Madame de Vermenaux, a lady of great wealth and social influence.

Madame Necker de Saussure describes her as endowed with firmness of character, strength of intellect, and a remarkable capacity for labor; as not only educated to an extraordinary degree in both science and letters, but as especially having that "spirit of method" which serves for the acquisition of all things. With brilliant faculties and personal attractions she combined the highest moral qualities. Her religious principles were never shaken by the skepticism and licensed immorality which prevailed around her Parisian home. Her essay entitled, *Réflexions sur le Divorce* is an example of luminous reasoning and original style. It is a plea for the sacredness of marriage against the loose opinions regarding it which characterized the epoch of the Revolution. Her *Mélanges* are distinguished by good sense, acute and epigrammatic observations on almost every subject that she touches, and by a moral elevation quite in contrast with the tendencies of opinion around her. Necker said of her that, "to render her perfectly amiable, she only needed some fault to pardon in herself." Her greatest fault was, perhaps, her moral rigor; the forbearance which she needed not herself she was slow to accord to feebler characters. "She could captivate," says Madame Necker de Saussure, "when she wished; she freely gave praise where it was merited; her blue eyes were soft and caressing, and her face had an expression of extreme purity and of candor, which made, with her tall and rather rigid figure, a contrast sufficiently fascinating."—Vol. i, p. 16.

Madame de Staël's father, James Necker, was a native of Geneva; of a family Teutonic in blood, Calvinistic in faith, and eminent for intellectual culture as well as high moral character, many of its members occupying positions of distinction both in literature and in civil life. James was thoroughly educated in the rigorous Genevan style, and at the age of fifteen was placed as a clerk in the noted banking house of Vernet, Paris. Here he developed remarkable financial ability, and soon reached the head-clerkship, from which he finally passed to a partnership with the Thellusons in founding the chief banking house of the period. During the following twenty years he not only amassed an immense fortune and gained the distinction of being the leading financier of his times, but he found leisure to cultivate literature as well, acquiring a vigorous and independent style as a writer, and publishing numerous very popular works, principally on financial questions, but also on political and even religious subjects. The republic of Geneva, proud of her successful son, appointed him her resident minister at the court of Versailles, in which

capacity he became at once closely identified with the exciting political affairs of the day. He may have had his peers as a statesman, but as a financier he was immeasurably superior to his contemporaries, which fact finally led to his appointment as Financial Minister in the government of Louis XVI. He was always a firm Protestant, of unimpeachable integrity, and he brought to bear all his influence and skill in furtherance of his steady policy of retrenchment and square dealing in favor of the people and against their unprincipled oppressors. Had he been listened to and heartily supported by the king and his advisers, his ability and vast moral influence might have saved the sinking state. But Necker and his policy and his Protestantism stood in the way of the corrupt and unpatriotic placemen who thronged the king, and blinded his eyes to the mistakes of the present and the dangers of the future. So Necker was not permitted to carry out his wise plans to their logical end. Again and again was he dismissed from the cabinet, to be as often recalled in response to the clamor of the people, with whom he was always a favorite, and the demands of the most intelligent and patriotic of his associates. But his almost superhuman efforts failed to avert the final catastrophe, and on January 2, 1793, the sun of Louis XVI. went down amid the black horror of the Revolution.

Because of his love for liberty and justice, and more particularly on account of his brilliant but proscribed daughter, Necker was not regarded with any degree of favor by Napoleon, but was permitted to remain in retirement at Coppet until the close of his life, occupying his last days in adding to the number of his valuable published works, which finally aggregated some fifteen large volumes.

Necker's characteristic excellences were not unmarred by characteristic faults. He was ambitious of popularity and too self-conscious, especially of his abilities and merits. His sentimentality, a virtue in his writings and conversation, was a fault in his politics. His style was too complicated, too abstract, too oracular. He has been called the father of the *doctrinaire* school of politics, a school which proposed to "impress a new direction on France, to reform her impetuous temperament, and to give constitutional equilibrium to her political life." This school bore, more or less, the impress of both his Anglican political ideas and of his literary style. In person Necker was as remarkable as in character. "His features," says his wife in a literary

"Portrait," "resemble those of no one else. A high, retreating forehead; a chin of unusual length; vivid brown eyes, full of tenderness, sometimes of melancholy, and arched by elevated brows, gave him an expression quite original." His statue at Coppet, somewhat theatrical in its attitude, expresses grace and grandeur of both soul and person. Such was the father of Madame de Staël. His style of both thought and language, relieved of its peculiar defects, and endued with richer vigor and elegance, re-appears in her own writings. Her intellectual legitimacy is indisputable.—Vol. i, p. 11.

Necker and Mademoiselle Curchod were married in 1764, he at thirty-two, and she at twenty-five years of age. Both possessed "an enthusiasm for success," and aspired not only to financial prosperity, but to something beyond and better. Well adapted to each other, both in mind and heart, their married life was one of singular happiness and usefulness. As her husband rose in position and influence, Madame Necker's house became a resort for the leaders of opinion and society in Paris, and a recognized literary center as well. Her early training and enforced knowledge of the world and its affairs fitted her to shine in her new sphere, and she soon became the presiding genius of a *salon* which had no superior either in brilliancy or influence.

The *salons* of Paris were then true schools, whose discussions were without scholastic pedantry, and Madame Necker and Madame Roland were the two chiefs in these arenas, where intellect appeared in all its forms: Madame Necker for the defense of religious ideas, Madame Roland for that of liberal opinions, which at this period had already caused a general movement. Both gave a new impulse to the times.—Vol. i, p. 37.

The *savants* and *littérateurs* of the city, among whom were Buffon, Marmontel, Saint-Lambert, Thomas, Diderot, d'Alembert, Gibbon, and Hume, flocked to Madame Necker's receptions, besides an increasing host of military and titled celebrities. The glory of her *salon* has passed into history, while she and her noble husband will ever stand as the representatives of all that was wisest, best, and most patriotic in French society in those memorable years which preceded the downfall of the ancient *régime*. To the honor of the rigid but sturdy and invigorating system of Swiss Calvinistic training be it said that these well-assorted companions in the struggle of life were, from first to last, a tower of strength for all lovers of

morality and true national prosperity, always fearlessly maintaining the right even in the midst of "a perverse and crooked generation."

Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein, was born at Paris, April 22, 1766. Her extraordinary mental capacity was early recognized by her parents and friends; and Madame Necker, true to her instincts as a teacher, soon began a rigid system of training, which, although in some respects not well adapted to the peculiar temperament of her gifted child, still, on the whole, furnished a good foundation for the career which afterward dazzled all Europe by its brilliancy. She was a practical advocate of the "cramming system," and in the education of her daughter she allowed these ideas full play. As a result the child soon became a perfect prodigy of information on all subjects, even in politics, theology, and metaphysics, but, after all, lacked that proportionate discipline of the mind which is so necessary to a symmetrical development. Her great genius and indomitable will alone saved her mind from being a negative repository of facts instead of a mighty, well-directed, positive force in the world. Madame Necker aimed to repress every thing childish in her daughter, and make her in mind and manners as much like her elders as possible; hence these were really oppressive years for the child.

Her daily, her hourly, life was under rule, her sports were restrained, her attitudes regulated, her studies severely mechanical. But her ardent nature was ever spontaneously breaking away from this bondage, so foreign to its instincts. She was full of gayety, of *abandon*, of frankness, of affectionate impulses, of the love of dramatic effects—not to say dramatic tricks. Marmontel says that "she was at times an amiable little mischief-maker." "She stood in great awe of her mother," writes Simond, the traveler, who knew her from her infancy, "but was exceedingly familiar with and extravagantly fond of her father. Madame Necker had no sooner left the room, one day after dinner, than the young girl, till then timidly decorous, suddenly seized her napkin and threw it across the table at the head of her father, and then, flying around to him, hung upon his neck, suffocating all his reproofs by her kisses." Bonstetten tells the story with some variations. According to him, she fairly drew Necker into a dance around the table, and was arrested only by sounds of the returning steps of her mother, when they resumed their seats at the board with the utmost sobriety. Never has paternal or filial love been stronger, down even to the grave, than between Necker and his daughter. The desire to give pleasure to her parents was

an extremely active motive of her affectionate nature. For example, at the age of ten years, observing their great admiration for Gibbon, she imagined it to be her duty to marry him, in order that they might enjoy constantly his conversation. In her tenth year she was exceedingly attractive. Her natural gayety was extreme, though at times touched by that poetic melancholy which ever after tinged her soul.—Vol. i, pp. 34–37.

She found some relief from the otherwise severely systematic manner of her life in being permitted to mingle with the brilliant company which daily thronged her mother's *salon*. Here her grace and ease of manner, her remarkable familiarity with the topics of the times, and above all her vivacity and ready wit, made her a universal favorite. As early as her twelfth year her literary efforts began to attract the attention of her friends. She first attempted dramatic compositions, which were acted by her and her young companions in the family drawing-room. At the age of fifteen, so remarkable was her mental maturity, that her genius was said to already have its stamp. She had not only read but mastered some of the profoundest works of French literature, including several philosophical and ecclesiastical treatises that were then attracting much attention. She even ventured to write several essays upon these high themes, but her father wisely discouraged these premature efforts. Her peculiar training, and her familiarity with the exciting discussions of the *salon*, stimulated her faculties to an unhealthful activity, which finally led to a decline in health, which was only arrested by a cessation of all serious study, and unlimited permission for the child to roam at will in the open air, amid the lovely landscapes of St. Ouen, to which country seat her father, having resigned his cabinet position, now retired. Necker's "Compte Rendu" appeared about this time, and his daughter, excited and gratified by the enthusiasm with which it was received, wrote him an anonymous letter upon the subject which displayed such remarkable knowledge and talent that its juvenile authorship was only suspected from certain peculiarities of style which she had been unable to conceal. Madame de Rémusat, whose interesting memoirs were published too late for Dr. Stevens's purpose, but who, in more than one particular, confirms the wisdom of his opinions, says of Mademoiselle Necker:

In her earliest years she displayed a character which promised to carry her beyond the restraints of nearly all social customs. At the age of fifteen she enjoyed the most abstract reading and the most impassioned works. It is impossible not to feel that there was something very odd, something that looked like mental alienation, in the manner in which Madame de Staël acted her part as a woman in the world. Surrounded in her father's house by a circle consisting of all the men in the city who were in any way distinguished, excited by the conversations that she heard, as well as by her own nature, her intellectual faculties were, perhaps, developed to excess. She then acquired the taste for controversy which she has since practiced so much, and in which she has shown herself so piquant and so distinguished. —*Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 406.

Through life she cherished a passionate love and admiration for her father. She never failed in filial duty to her mother, of whose rare gifts and exalted character she was justly proud, but she fairly idolized her father. During this period of his retirement and her freedom they were almost constant companions. Necker fully appreciated his daughter's mental superiority, but in the most adroit and charming manner corrected the faults into which her luxuriant nature was ever leading her. He sought to train and prune, as well as to inform, her mind, and although his wife greatly regretted the partial defeat of her plans, and seemed to abandon all hope of any thing remarkable in her daughter's future, still her intellectual growth continued to be most marvelous, and it is very evident that at this time, through Necker's superior discernment and adaptation of method, was really laid the foundation of her subsequent literary success. Even after her restoration to health was fully assured her education continued to be entirely domestic, more particularly under the eye of her father, whose ideas were fully justified by her rapid and symmetrical development.

During the interval between Necker's first and second administrations, 1781–88, his daughter passed through the most interesting period of her youth, from her fifteenth to her twenty-second year. By her keen sympathy with her father she received the salutary discipline of affliction; her retired life enabled her to prosecute extensive studies; and the country air restored her health. In her eighteenth year she is described as so mature a woman that they could justly pronounce her to be one of the most luminous spirits of the times; she eclipsed all who came near her, and seemed rightfully the mistress of the

house. She was graceful in all her movements; her countenance, without entirely satisfying the eye at first, attracted it and retained it by a rare charm, for it quickly displayed a sort of ideal or intellectual beauty. No one feature was salient enough to determine in advance her character or mood, except her eyes, which were magnificent; but her varying thoughts painted themselves on her face. It had, therefore, no one permanent expression. Her physiognomy was created by the emotion of the moment. In repose her eyelids had something like languor, but a flash of thought would illuminate her glances with a sudden fire—a sort of lightning forerunning her words. There was, however, no unquiet mobility about her features. A kind of exterior indolence characterized her; but her vigorous frame, her firm and well-adjusted attitudes, added to the great force and singular directness of her discourse. There was something, meanwhile, dramatic in her bearing; and even her toilet, though exempt from all exaggerations, gave an idea of the picturesque, more than of the mode or fashion.—Vol. i, pp. 76–78.

At the age of twenty, Mademoiselle Necker was married to Baron de Staël, Swedish embassador to the court of France, who was seventeen years her senior. It was in every sense a marriage of *convenance*, arranged in the interests of her father's political aspirations, and with little reference to her real wishes or affection. Her love for her father, and the stipulation that she should never be separated from her parents, reconciled her to the union, although it is clear that no very strong attachment ever existed between the two. Baron de Staël was a firm Protestant, and zealously devoted to the reforms which then occupied the attention of the enlightened classes of French society; a man of generous character and advanced ideas, he early became a warm supporter of Necker's political opinions, and spared no pains to promote his official interests. He was a favorite at the French court as well as with his own sovereign, who favored his marriage and assured him his official position in perpetuity, and a pension nearly if not quite equivalent to its emoluments. The marriage seems to have been almost as much a matter of state policy as though the bride had been a princess of the blood rather than the daughter of a Swiss *émigré*.

Necker's daughter was now a baroness and an embassadress, with an assured position of honor and influence at court and in aristocratic circles, all of which was directly favorable to her father's social and political promotion. The Baron was a man

of extravagant habits and no financial ability, whose generosity, over-stimulated by the large dowry of his bride, soon degenerated into prodigality. His tastes and his associations separated him more and more from his wife, who was constantly contrasting him unfavorably with his intellectual superiors who crowded around her. For some years their mutual love for their children held them together; but at last a formal separation was arranged, the children going with their mother, who devoted herself to their education, the management of their remaining fortune being given to M. Necker. The Baron did not long survive the separation, but died May 2, 1802. The circumstances which attended her unfortunate marriage, no doubt, had much to do with whatever was objectionable in Madame de Staël's social career. Due stress must also be laid upon the very free manners of the times; but certain it is, if we are to give any credit whatever to the almost unanimous testimony of her contemporaries, which Dr. Stevens seems almost entirely to overlook at this point, that her conduct as a wife was by no means irreproachable. Madame de Rémusat says: "Her nature was too passionate for her not to love strongly, and her imagination too vivid for her not to think that she loved often." * Talleyrand was one of the first of her lovers. After his rupture with Madame de Staël he entered upon his *liaison* with Madame Grand. It was this circumstance that led Madame de Staël to ask Talleyrand the unfortunate question which gave him the opportunity for one of his most noted witticisms: "If Madame Grand and I were to fall into the water, Talleyrand," she inquired, "which of us would you save first?" "Oh! madame," returned the minister, "*you swim so well!*" It was the remembrance of this, probably, which provoked her somewhat indelicate description of his character as a diplomatist, in which she said, "He is such a dissembler, that if you kick him behind he will smile in front." Madame de Staël's long-continued *liaison* with the celebrated thinker and orator, Benjamin Constant, is too incessantly alluded to in the various records of the period to require any extended notice here. Circumstances may palliate, but certainly cannot justify, Madame de Staël's secret marriage, at the age of forty-five, with the Genevese officer Rocca, a youth of

* Vol. ii, p 407.

twenty-three; which arrangement, since it gave him the intimacy of an accepted lover ever by her side during the remainder of her life, placed them both in a false position; imposed the odium of illegitimacy upon their innocent son, Alfonse, until after his mother's death; taxed unjustly the love and confidence of her older children and most intimate friends; and subjected her to a censure, especially in the more moral society of Germany and England, which even the fame of her wonderful literary achievements could not avert. Doubtless her second marriage was in every sense a love match, and productive of much happiness to both parties; but, judged by the laws of a true social ethics, she must have stood condemned for insisting upon an arrangement which was regarded by all, as, at best, a romantic *liaison*, from the fascinations of which Rocca's family and friends were constantly endeavoring, with promises, and threats, and even tears, to rescue him. Although practically ignored by Dr. Stevens, still it cannot be successfully denied that Madame de Staël's conduct, in the above particulars, is a serious blot upon her otherwise fair fame, and makes her responsible, to the extent of her influence, for the immorality which characterized even the best French society during her own and subsequent times.

Madame de Staël was passionately devoted to her children, and spared no pains to promote their happiness and thorough education. Her son, Auguste Baron de Staël-Holstein, and her only daughter Albertine Duchesse de Broglie, long occupied positions in French society and literature in every way creditable to themselves and to their family.

From the time of her marriage until her exile from Paris, with the exception of a few brief intervals, Madame de Staël was the recognized queen of the Parisian *salon*. Her extensive knowledge, impressive appearance, fascinating manners, and extraordinary conversational powers, in a time when conversation was cultivated as both a science and an art, made her famous in social and literary circles even before her principal works appeared. Her title as embassadress at once brought her into intimate relations with the king and queen; and for a time she was pleased with the extraordinary magnificence which characterized their extravagant and profligate court. But she soon wearied of that which afforded her no intellectual

stimulus, and was also a constant offense to her republican tastes and tendencies. Turning from this "courtly and vacant folly," she successfully sought to gather round her the very *élite* of the French literary world; and soon the *salon* of the Swedish Legation became the most brilliant in Paris. From this time on, through the years of the Revolution, and until the rule of Napoleon was fully established, protected by her husband's official position as representative of another power, she maintained her influence as queen of a social and intellectual realm that has probably never had its equal; and where she not only labored to stimulate literary activity, but was, from first to last, the strong and devoted champion of what may be termed conservative republicanism, bravely contending against the effete doctrines of the old *régime*, the mad fanaticism of the Jacobins, the portentous assumptions of the Consular government, and the usurpations and tyranny of the Empire, as one after the other they threatened the liberties and prosperity of the French nation. She was ever an eloquent advocate of the rights of the people. Her *salon* was always thronged by the best intellects of Paris, and by representative men and women of the times. Men of letters, foreign diplomatists, members of the legislature, and even the brothers of Napoleon, were among her habitual guests, and were proud of her friendship. An unusual intellectual activity is said to have characterized the metropolis during the troublous period of the Revolution; an activity which displayed itself in the discussion of the gravest social and political questions ever agitated. In these discussions Madame de Staël was enabled, by the great freedom allowed her sex, and the congenial employment of her superior faculties, to become an acknowledged leader. "The *salon* was to her an arena of intellectual athletics, as well as a school of the best sentiments and manners." It is said that the most eloquent of the Republican orators were those who borrowed from her most of their ideas and telling phrases; and that most of them went forth from her door with speeches ready for the next day, and with resolution to pronounce them—a courage which was also derived from her.

Madame de Staël loved society because she found it "indispensable to her being, a salutary and necessary stimulant for

her faculties, which seemed to be more developed by conversation with men of culture than by any other exercise." Whether in Paris or Coppet, or residing in any one of the many cities she visited during her exile, it was her delight to indulge in the luxury of hospitality, gathering about her the best minds of her times, and seeking inspiration for her literary efforts in their conversation and criticisms. It is the universal testimony of her contemporaries, friends and foes alike, that no man or woman in Europe excelled her in the felicitous art of conversation. Her admirers have always insisted that no familiarity with her writings could give one an adequate idea of her real mental power, since its greatest triumphs were always witnessed in conversation with the best representatives of literature, politics, or philosophy. Although she assiduously cultivated her powers in this direction, and her speech was always vitalized by a positiveness which often rose to a passion, still the charm of unassumed sincerity beautified her every utterance.

She was always characterized by a frankness and simplicity of manner, which, in spite of her intellectual brilliancy, placed all who were around her at ease. Affectation and insincerity in conversation she could not tolerate, and lost no opportunity to mercilessly expose; but in one who loved and pursued the truth she could pardon the lack of any thing else. She was always the friend of literary tyros who gave any evidence whatever of genuine worth. She knew how to make the best use of the imagination in conversation, and while her ardent temperament sometimes impelled her to adopt and defend questionable theories, still her thoughts were always brilliant, powerful, and often startling, while her sentences were adorned with all the graces of genuine eloquence. All the testimony goes to show that she was most extraordinary in colloquial disputation whenever an opponent was found worthy of her prowess. There was never any unfairness, bitterness, or contempt on her part—never any aiming at effect; but there was a straightforward, honest vehemence in thought, logic, and rhetoric, which, like a swelling torrent, bore down all before it. She particularly seemed to delight in debate, because it was the best means of viewing a subject on all sides, of getting at the truth, and being instructed by capable minds. At any cost of defeat and overthrow of favorite theories, she was anxious

to get at the truth, and secure the triumph of careful thought and sound sense. To talk for mere display was altogether foreign to her purpose; and under all circumstances colloquial conscientiousness was one of her most marked characteristics. She never seemed disposed, for the mere sake of a victory, to take advantage of any lack of knowledge or skill in her adversary. Her position, as daughter of the great minister of finance and wife of the Swedish embassador, brought her into immediate contact, during all her residence in Paris, with the exciting political questions of the day; and her mind and heart were fully enlisted in any project that seemed to promise liberty and prosperity to her distracted country. Consequently her influence was always felt on the right side, even though it were exerted at the risk of personal comfort or safety. Her husband's official position gave her immunity from most of the dangers which threatened her friends, and, up to the time when she was forced to flee from the blackest horrors of the Reign of Terror, she constantly, at great personal sacrifice, exerted her influence in the service of the threatened or proscribed, secreting them in her residence or pleading their cause with those who, for the time being, were in authority.

Her merciful activity brought her, more than once, into suspicion. On one such occasion, Legendre, the great mathematician, denounced her to the Assembly in the presence of her husband, but, fortunately, Barras successfully defended her. The story of the Revolution is graphically recorded by her pen, which sometimes seems dipped in blood, as in memory she lives over again those days of horror. On the establishment of the Republic, Sweden recognized the new government, and Baron de Staël was sent back as embassador to negotiate a new treaty of peace, and his wife again took up her residence in Paris. She deemed the Republic the only practicable government for France at that time, and she promptly seconded all efforts to restore peace and prosperity on that basis. She led society in the revival of the *salon* as a means of strengthening the new order of things, and softening the rigors of the new *régime*. Villemain says: "She re-appeared in France, and founded there anew the spirit of society. After those times of rudeness and cruelty, she re-introduced the influence of woman. These facts are historical. We behold in her the restoration

of the normal spirit of France after the storms of the Revolution." During the days of the reaction her influence was constantly felt by both parties in the interests of harmony; and the heroic devotion which, in the days of the Revolution, led her often to face death for her friends, now prompted her to do all in her power to secure their restoration from exile; and many a man, afterward prominent in French history, owed his recall to her tireless and unselfish efforts. She did not desire the restoration of royalty, but she was suspicious of Bonaparte, and dreaded the military despotism which she predicted and which was gradually developed by him "under the auspices of the Directory, and the belligerent provocations of England and Austria."

When Bonaparte was made Consul, Madame de Staël was already famous as an eloquent advocate of liberal opinions and a literary character of much promise. She was at first charmed with the young Corsican, and believed him to be the long-looked-for leader who could harmonize conflicting elements, secure to the nation the full benefit of such progress as it had made, and marshal all its powers in defense of the Republic, to which he avowed the most conscientious loyalty. At this time she fully shared the popular enthusiasm. But her habits of critical observation and analysis of character soon modified her opinions, and put her on her guard against his influence. Madame de Rémusat says:

> She became deeply interested in Napoleon. She believed that the happy combination of so many distinguished qualities and of so many favorable circumstances might be turned to the profit of her idol—Liberty; but she quickly startled Bonaparte, who did not wish to be either watched or divined. She first made him uneasy, then displeased him. He received her advances coldly, and disconcerted her by his bluntness and sharp words. He offended many of her opinions; a certain distrust grew up between them, and, as they were both high-tempered, this distrust was not long in changing to hatred.—Vol. ii, pp. 407, 408.

She admired Napoleon's great talents, but her penetrating insight soon led her to discover his utter lack of moral sense and patriotism, his inordinate vanity, and his unscrupulous ambition, which imperiled not only the permanent prosperity of France, but the peace and progress of all Europe as well. She read the future like an inspired seer, and, al-

though at first she did not actively array herself against him, still she refused to either praise or support him. Strange as it may seem, the great captain was extremely sensitive to her neglect, and at once began a system of persecution which, while it revealed his utter lack of manly principle, was unwittingly a most complete recognition of her great intellect, and won for her the sympathy of thousands who otherwise would have been simply admirers of her genius. She was not only banished from her beloved Paris, but, so long as Napoleon was in power, her works were proscribed, some of them because of their frank criticisms of his policy, but most because they had no words of praise or commendation for the man whose fame was already filling the world. Again and again, through his agents, he sought to win her support by offers of amnesty and personal profit, but she was true to her convictions, and stoutly maintained her independence to the last. Napoleon conquered all the continent of Europe, but this one solitary woman, whom he affected to despise, but upon whose integrity he exhausted all the arts of persuasion and terrors of persecution, he could not conquer. This prolonged conflict between the greatest military chieftain and the greatest thinker of the times "was the means of giving to the world the most remarkable example of the triumph of the pen over the sword and scepter that history records." To the very last she maintained the spirit of her prayer on the eve of the battle of Leipsic—"May we conquer, but Napoleon be *killed*." Prince Metternich says:

> Madame de Staël applied to me, in 1810, to obtain for her from Napoleon permission to live in Paris. An opportunity soon occurred when I was able to make known to Napoleon the request of this celebrated woman. "I do not want Madame de Staël in Paris," he said to me, "and I have good reasons for saying so." I replied that it might be so, but it was no less certain that by this way of treating a lady he gave her a distinction which without that she might not, perhaps, have. "Madame de Staël," Napoleon replied, "is a machine in motion which will make disturbance in the *salons*. It is only in France that such a woman is to be feared, and I will not agree to it."—*Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 288.

Madame de Rémusat says:

> Napoleon declared of Madame de Staël, "This woman teaches people to think who never thought before, or who had forgotten how to think." And there was much truth in this. The hatred

he bore her was unquestionably founded, in some degree, upon that jealousy with which he was inspired by any superiority which he could not control.—*Memoirs,* vol. ii, pp. 408, 409.

The picture Madame de Staël gives of Napoleon's vulgarity, petty tyrrany, and utter selfishness, in his intercourse with men and women, is more than confirmed in its correctness by the "Memoirs" just quoted, and will forever prevent his re-establishment in the respect of the world.

The literary world may well be forever proud of the fortitude with which Madame de Staël bore her misfortunes, and her unyielding persistence throughout the prolonged contest. Almost every court of Europe was open to her during her years of wandering. Friends multiplied on every hand. Her contact with the best literary minds of Germany, Italy, and England seemed to afford just the inspiration she needed, for in the years of her exile she produced her greatest works, achieved her most marked success as a leader in the realm of thought, and won her high and permanent place in literature. Whatever may be said of her disappointments and sufferings, her intellectual faculties were certainly stimulated to an unlooked-for vigor by the opposition she encountered, and even Napoleon, when, an exile himself on St. Helena, he read her immortal works, was compelled to testify to her greatness in the reluctant words, "No one can deny that she is a woman of grand talent, of extraordinary intellect; she will last."

Much of her time, during the ten years of her exile, was spent in the beautiful family home at Coppet, which at that period was one of the chief literary centers of Europe. The picture given by Dr. Stevens of the old *chateau* and the life there is charming indeed. Those who have been so fortunate as to visit Coppet will at once recognize the correctness and delicate appreciation of the following description:

The tourist in Switzerland, passing on Lake Leman from Lausanne to Geneva, sees on the north-western shore a small village, nearly all the habitations of which seem clinging to a central stately structure: it is famous as the hamlet of Coppet, and the parent edifice is the Chateau de Necker, the home of Madame de Staël. As the steamer approaches the pier, all eyes, of educated foreigners at least, are turned from the sublimer scenery of the opposite shore to gaze on the memorable site, and it is seldom that groups of travelers do not leave the boat to pay their

homage at this shrine of the genius of the greatest woman in literary history. Colonnades of ancient oaks, horse-chestnuts, and sycamores extend from the landing up to the mansion. The latter is spacious, but presents an aspect more of comfort and good taste than of magnificence. Its principal court, formed on three sides by the building, on the fourth by a lofty grilled fence, with ample gates, is adorned with flower-beds, and flowering vines climb its angles to the roof. From its open northern side extends a simple picture of landscape beauty, designed more by nature than art: a combined English garden and park, with sward, clumps of flowering shrubs, and stately trees; a crystal brook (flowing down from the Jura) on one side; a fish-pond in the center; and graveled walks, with stone seats, winding among the trees. The interior of the mansion still retains, intact, not a few mementoes of its celebrated mistress, objects of eager interest to innumerable pilgrims—a bedroom, with its antique furniture and tapestried hangings; a library, with its crowded bookcases, writing-desk, and pictures; a *salon*, with works of art. West of the *chateau* lies the family cemetery, entirely shut in from the sight of the visitor by high walls and a dense copse of aged trees and entangled shrubs and vines. In its center stands a small chapel, within which sleeps the illustrious authoress with her parents, and around it rest her children and grandchildren—four generations of the family of Necker. It is a somber inclosure, but the nightingales delight to sing in its deep shades; and the vine-clad Juras on the one side, the lake and snow-crowned Alps on the other, frame about it a picture of exceeding beauty, befitting the memory of its chief tenant.—Vol. i, pp. 1–3.

Whenever Madame de Staël took up her residence for any length of time at Coppet the place was always thronged with her intimates, men and women of a world-wide reputation, who gave the morning to intellectual labor and the evening to amusements, literary criticisms, and social enjoyment. Besides those regularly established as her daily associates, literary celebrities from all parts of Europe were constantly wending their way to Coppet as to a shrine, and her *salon* here was almost as crowded and as brilliant as in Paris.

As her most famous works appeared at irregular intervals, the attitude of Napoleon became more threatening, until she at last determined on flight to Russia, where she was received at court with distinguished attention, and where she at once gathered around her a multitude of admirers, all famous in the world of science or letters, and vying with each other in their eager homage to her genius. Next she visited Sweden, where

her old friend, Marshal Bernadotte, (now the chosen successor of the reigning sovereign,) received her with ready honors, and where she remained eight months revising her *Réflexions Sur le Suicide*, which she had written at Coppet, and publishing the work at Stockholm early in 1813, dedicating it to Bernadotte.

Continuing her flight to London, she was received by the aristocratic and literary society of the English metropolis with the greatest enthusiasm. Napoleon's unworthy attitude secured her the ready sympathy of all Britons, and she was at once recognized as the greatest literary woman Europe had yet produced. We are told that the great houses in which she was received were "crowded by the nobility and people of culture;" and such was their eagerness to see her that "the ordinary restraints of high society were quite disregarded." At the house of Lord Lansdowne, and other similar places, "the first ladies in the kingdom mounted on chairs and tables to catch a glimpse of her." In every society she was sought for and received with all the honors due to her great powers.

Never has a woman, through the mere force of her genius, attained a triumph equal to hers. Kings and queens sought her friendship, and literary celebrities were proud of her success, since it reflected honor upon the entire fraternity. At Weimar, Berlin, and other capitals of Germany, it had been the same. Goethe and Schiller were her stanch admirers and friends. Fichte may not have worshiped at her feet, but he had good reason for remembering her, as is shown by the following anecdote related to the American scholar, George Ticknor, by the old prime-minister, Ancillon, at Berlin:

> When Madame de Staël was here she excited a great sensation, and had the men of letters trotted up and down, as it were, before her, successively, to see their paces. I was present when Fichte's turn came. After talking a little while, she said, "Now, Monsieur Fichte, will you be so kind as to give me, in fifteen minutes or so, a sort of idea, or *aperçu*, of your system, so that I may know clearly what you mean by your *ich*, (I), your *moi*, (me)? for I am entirely in the dark about it." The notion of explaining, in a little quarter of an hour, to a person in total darkness, a system which he had been all his lifetime developing from a single principle within himself, was quite shocking to the philosopher's dignity. However, being much pressed, he began, in rather bad French, to do the best he could. But he had not gone on more than ten minutes before Madame de Staël, who

had followed him with the greatest attention, interrupted him with a countenance full of eagerness and satisfaction: "Ah! it is sufficient; I comprehend you perfectly, Monsieur Fichte; your system is perfectly illustrated by a story in 'Baron Munchausen's Travels.' For, when he arrived once on the banks of a vast river, where there was neither bridge nor ferry, nor even a poor boat or raft, he was at first quite confounded, until at last, his wits coming to his assistance, he took a good hold of his own sleeve and jumped himself over to the other side. Now, Monsieur Fichte, this, I take it, is just what you have done with your *ich*, your *moi*, is it not?" There was so much truth in this, and so much *esprit*, that, of course, the effect was irresistible on all but poor Fichte himself. As for him, he never forgave Madame de Staël, who certainly, however, had no malicious purpose of offending him, and who, in fact, praised him and his *ich* most abundantly in her "De l'Allemagne."—*Ticknor's Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 198.

Great as was Madame de Staël's charm for men, she was no less the favorite of many of the best and most intelligent women. Madame Récamier was her dearest friend, and but few of her own sex seem to have been at all jealous of her unprecedented success. On the downfall of Napoleon she returned to Paris to enjoy the protection and friendship of Louis XVIII., and to achieve her greatest social triumph. Since she was now persuaded that a republic was not yet practicable for Frenchmen, "her *salon* became one of the forces of the Restoration." The highest society of Paris gathered around her, and her house immediately became once more the intelligent center of France. During the memorable "Hundred Days" she was forced again to retire to Coppet. Even there she was followed by the persistent offers of Napoleon touching a reconciliation and the enlistment of her voice and pen in his favor, but she remained firm in her conscientious opposition. Her health now began rapidly to fail, and after seeing her daughter most happily married to the Duc de Broglie, and the center of a charming social and literary circle in Paris, she seemed conscious that her remaining life would be brief. Notwithstanding her declining health, she attained, in the winter of 1816–17, her highest power in the society of the metropolis. Says one of her guests:

Every evening her *salon* was crowded with all that was distinguished and powerful, not in France only, but in all Europe, which was then represented in Paris by a remarkable number of

its most extraordinary men. She had, to a degree perhaps never possessed by any other person, the rare talent of uniting around her the most distinguished individuals of all the opposite parties, literary and political, and making them establish relations among themselves which they could not afterward entirely shake off.—*Child's Memoirs of Madame de Staël and Madame Roland.*

Her mind remained firm and clear to the very last. She passed the whole of her last day, we are told by one who was present, seated in her arm-chair, conversing with her friends. She passed away in great peace, with her family around her, on the morning of July 14, 1817. Whatever may be thought of the errors of her life, from which she suffered so much, she died expressing a firm faith in the Christian religion as "affording the only and the sufficient solution of the problem of life," and believing that "the true end of life is the religious education of the heart." Her remains were entombed at Coppet.

We have space in this paper for only a brief reference to Madame de Staël's most noted literary productions. Her work on literature was published in 1800. It revealed at once her vast store of knowledge and her consummate skill in making it available for her purpose. Although the theories she advanced and defended did not meet the approval of the best minds among her critics in France—whatever may be said of the German thinkers, with whom she more nearly agreed—still the learning, the brilliancy, and vigor of the treatise were acknowledged by all, and her reputation as a profound thinker, an acute philosopher, and a fascinating writer, was at once assured. The plan of the treatise is very comprehensive:

> It first presents an analysis, moral and philosophic, of Greek and Latin literature, with reflections on the consequences, to the human mind, of the invasions of the Northern peoples, of the establishment of Christianity, and of the revival of letters; and a rapid review of modern literature, with detailed observations on the chief works of the Italian, English, German, and French languages, considered in reference to the general idea of the essay: that is to say, the relation of the social and political conditions of a country to the dominant spirit of its literature. The second part discusses the state of intelligence and literature in France since the Revolution, and, inquiring what they would be if France should possess the morality essential to republicanism, it shows her actual degradation, and her possible amelioration, as deducible from the examples treated in the first part. The doc-

trine, or hypothesis, of the treatise is the perfectibility of the human race. "I adopt with all my faculties," she says, "this philosophic belief. It is the conservative, the redeeming, hope of the intellectual world; it imparts a grand elevation to the soul—its highest consolation. The doctrine lifts the weight of life and gladdens all our moral being with the happiness and nobleness of virtue. It is not a vain theory: we are conducted to it by the observation of facts."—Vol. i, p. 231.

This doctrine met with great opposition in France, and immediately provoked much discussion, which finally brought out some of the best thinkers of Switzerland and Germany upon the subject. As the production of a woman, the book was the marvel of all Europe. For a long time it maintained a strong hold upon reflecting men; and whoever reads it now will find that many opinions, since thoroughly examined and adopted by the most vigorous leaders of thought, were first advanced and defended in its pages. Whether we accept or reject her theories, we are astonished by the variety of learning, the individuality of mind, and the acute reasoning of the work. In these respects it probably has no equal among the writings of women.

"Delphine," her first and, in the opinion of many, her best romance, was published in 1802. It was written amid troubles, anxieties, and threatening dangers, which would have been unbearable but for the diversion and comfort which literary activity afforded her. Her design in "Delphine" seems to be to express a profound pity for women with strong minds and hearts to whom the happiness of love in marriage has not been accorded, and to show that it is not only difficult for them to "inclose themselves within the narrow bounds of their fate," but more difficult for them to overstep those bounds, without experiencing the keenest suffering. It is possible, in a romance, to present such a thought in a variety of forms; so she pictures a woman (said by many to represent herself) brilliant but unhappy, "dominated by her affections, badly directed by her independent spirit, and suffering by her most amiable qualities." A desire for happiness in marriage, and a settled conviction that it is impossible to be otherwise happy, pervade the entire book. The great genius displayed in "Delphine" was acknowledged by all; but its morality was at once questioned. While, perhaps, the charge of immorality cannot be

fully maintained, still it plainly "is not a wholesome book, morally or intellectually," although in this regard it is the best book among similar productions in French literature of its time. Vinet criticises the work severely from his own high moral stand-point; but he also says: "Delphine, with all her errors, is one of the most touching creations of genius; her character is as true as it is charming. It is impossible not to love this generous soul, which lives only for love and self-sacrifice. No fiction has ever been more vitally real. No work of Madame de Staël has been written with more facile, more abundant, power. If she has not yet the maturity of her opinions, she has, I believe, all the plenitude of her talents." In the most thoroughly finished character of the book, Madame de Vernon, she doubtless intended to depict Talleyrand. The Machiavellian minister at once recognized the likeness, and said to his friends, alluding to the virile character of Madame de Staël's mind: "In her romance she has disguised us both as women—herself and me." "Delphine" excited great interest, both in literary and fashionable circles, and increased the already brilliant reputation of its author, since it revealed her power in an entirely new field of literary effort. From this point on she stands acknowledged by the best minds as the greatest female thinker and writer of her age.

"Corinne," by which she is probably best known to American readers, was published in 1807; and, according to Vinet, it was one of the greatest literary events of the day. The book was written after a long journey through Italy, and a most thorough study of its scenery, social life, manners, and customs, and especially its art and art treasures. It abounds in magnificent descriptions and keen criticisms. It is most rich in healthful sentiment, deep thought, and genuine morality. The true idea of the beautiful nowhere receives a clearer presentation, or a more enthusiastic and just defense, than in this work of her superabundant genius. Its success was "instantaneous and universal." It is a romance, and, at the same time, a faithful picture, and "a record of subtile and precious thoughts." It reveals the freedom and vigor of the author's matured powers. Throughout Europe it was received with enthusiastic praise. Even in cultured and critical Edinburgh it met with the approbation of all. Jeffrey, in the

"Edinburgh Review," pronounced Madame de Staël the greatest writer in France since the time of Voltaire and Rousseau, and the greatest female writer of any age or country.

The "Allemagne" was published in London in the autumn of 1813, and so great was the interest it excited, that within three or four years it was translated into all the principal tongues of Europe. The work is divided into four sections. The first treats of Germany and the manners of the Germans; the second, of literature and art; the third, of philosophy and morals; the fourth, of religion and enthusiasm. The "Allemagne" does not appeal to popular readers, but universally commands the attention of scholars and the more enlightened classes. Mackintosh, in the "Edinburgh Review," said: "The voice of Europe applauds this as a work which, for variety of knowledge, flexibility of power, elevation of view, and comprehensiveness of mind, is unequaled among the works of women; and which, in the union of the graces of society and literature with the genius of philosophy, is not surpassed by many among those of men." The "Allemagne" first opened up to France and to Europe generally the vast products of the German intellect; and must be considered as "the initiative of foreign criticism on German literature." As an adequate survey of German life and literature it has, necessarily, by the lapse of time, become deficient; but, like all works of genius, it is immortal, and must forever stand as the most worthy exponent of the rare gifts of the greatest of Frenchwomen.

Art. VI.—PROFESSOR BOWNE'S METAPHYSICS.*

In the year 1872 there appeared in the "New Englander" a series of articles on Herbert Spencer. Their boldness of statement, freshness of thought, and aptness of illustration, attracted wide attention. Excepting the article of Mr. Martineau, no abler criticism of Mr. Spencer has yet appeared. The author of these articles was Professor Bowne, then a student in the University of New York. Seven years later "Studies in Theism" appeared, a popular discussion, with the promise

* "Metaphysics: A Study in First Principles." By Borden P. Bowne.

in the Preface of a more philosophical treatment of the subject in a later volume. In the work now before us this promise is fulfilled. Though rather expository than original, "Metaphysics" is by far the most elaborate work that Professor Bowne has yet written. As Professor Latimer remarked, it is essentially an exposition of the philosophy of Lotze. Were he alive the great thinker might well congratulate himself on having found so able an expositor. Rare is it, indeed, that so acute a thinker, so clear and forcible a writer, as Professor Bowne can sympathetically expound not only the broad general principles of a philosophy, but its minutest details.

I propose to give some account of the fundamental principles of this philosophy. My object is exposition, not criticism. I shall try to state and illustrate the broad general principles of this philosophy so that the main outlines of the whole can be seen in the order of logical dependence.

The book aims to show that the universe is only the manifestation of God—has its being solely in him. My confidence in the conclusions of science, in the facts of perception, in the existence of my fellows, is only justified by my faith in God. That the arguments upon which these conclusions are based may be thoroughly understood, it is necessary to get a clear apprehension of Professor Bowne's starting point Every philosopher consciously or unconsciously starts from common sense. But there are two radically different ways of appealing to common sense. M'Cosh, for instance, appeals to common sense to establish as absolute certainties all those facts and principles having the characteristics of self-evidence, necessity, and universality. Spencer, on the other hand, appeals to common sense merely for provisional truths, and claims that these are justified or condemned according as the results reached from a logical use of them are consistent or inconsistent. Professor Bowen's method of appealing to common sense is a kind of compound of the two I have described. In partial agreement with M'Cosh and his school, he would repose unlimited trust in the *principles* of common sense, but not in its facts. In partial agreement with Spencer, he would regard the *facts* of common sense as only provisionally true, but not its principles. In agreement with M'Cosh, he holds that "the mind is able to know some things on its own account, and thus the

warrant for such knowledge is simply rational insight;" that these truths, thus known "by their own self-evidence," verify themselves. In agreement with Spencer, he says:

> In discussing our theory of things, we propose, therefore, to take every thing as it seems to be, and to make only such changes as are necessary to bring our views into harmony with themselves. The reasons for doubt and modification are to be sought entirely in the nature of the object, and not in the possibility of verbal doubt. . . . If we distinguish between appearance and reality, it is because reason can be harmonized with itself in no other way. We take, therefore, the theory of things which is formed by spontaneous thought, and make it the text for a critical exegesis in the hope of making it adequate and consistent. We take the notions of common sense as they exist, and the functions ascribed to them, and change them only as reason itself prescribes.—P. 18.

Professor Bowne's figure puts the matter clearly: the common-sense theory of things he makes the text for a critical exegesis. Self-evident truths, known by the mind's own insight, are the principles of interpretation. Obviously, the first question is, What is the text? and, second, What does he hold to be the proper principles of interpretation? Professor Bowne has nowhere given an explicit answer to these two questions, though it is easy to see what would have been his answer to the first. The conception of the world as it presents itself to common sense is that of a wide-spreading universe, extending indefinitely in infinite space, and of inconceivable duration. The objects about us appear to be colored, gustible, sonorous, and fragrant. Their colors, sounds, tastes, and smells appear to be perceived directly, as well as their distances and directions from us. They appear to be altogether independent of our minds and of all mind. If every thinking being should cease to exist, the world would continue to exist with all its tastes, and odors, and colors, and sounds. The various parts of the universe appear to be independent, and at the same time constantly acting and reacting upon one another, producing motions in various directions and of various degrees of rapidity, receiving and inducing endless changes; and yet, while changing, remaining the same throughout. The bodies of human beings are animated by consciousness and directed by wills; but the relation of dependence between the body and consciousness common sense does not clearly conceive. This, I conceive, is

the text which Professor Bowne subjects to a critical exegesis. The principles by means of which he interprets it, principles which he assumes to be self-evident, are the following: (1) Being can be assumed only as it explains phenomena. (2) Every change is the result of efficient causation. (3) The law of sufficient reason, which demands in the cause some determining ground for the specific character of the effect, must be satisfied. (4) Only the definite can explain the definite. Only the active can explain the active. (5) There can be no action without reaction. (6) A necessary cause cannot produce a free effect. (7) The mind must find rest or satisfaction. (8) The inconceivable is the impossible. (9) The facts of common sense are only provisionally true. Its principles are absolutely certain. (10) The action of the world is in harmony with moral laws. (11) The truth cannot diverge too widely from the opinions of common sense without inconsistency with Principle 10.*

* I have already said that Professor Bowne nowhere explicitly states the self-evident principles, or those assumed to be such, upon which his reasoning depends. It is a matter of regret that he did not. It would have greatly diminished the labor of his readers to have had a clear, succinct statement of the premises assumed as self-evident, somewhat as geometricians are in the habit of stating their axioms in the beginning of their treatises. I suspect they are frequently troubled because they think he is trying to prove what he is really assuming as self-evident. The self-evident principles attributed to him in this article are the result of a very careful examination of his system. There are some, such as the trustworthiness of memory, assumed by him in common with all thinkers, which I have not thought it worth while to state. The seventh and eighth I think Professor Bowne would refuse to acknowledge. I understand the seventh to mean that the mind must find conclusions which appear to be reasonable, or, rather, rational. As I interpret it, it amounts to this: The universe must be rational. I suspect Professor Bowne would say that he means by it only that the mind must not commit suicide, must not hold contradictory conclusions. The reader will observe when it is used as a premise, and can decide whether he really uses it in the sense I have explained. On page 109 he seems explicitly to disclaim the eighth. I am constrained, notwithstanding, to believe that he did hold it practically, since a number of his most important arguments depend entirely upon it, as the reader will observe. I am somewhat in doubt whether to class the ninth among his self-evident principles, since he might make it an induction from the procedure of the sciences. In that event, the procedure of the sciences is either self-evidently correct, or it is a mere assumption. We cannot imagine that Professor Bowne intended to base his whole system on an assumption, and, if not, I have made no mistake in attributing to him the opinion that it is self-evident that the facts of common sense are only provisionally true. In stating the eleventh so indefinitely, I am only following Professor Bowne. Subjective idealism—Berkeley's—departs from common sense so widely that we cannot suppose it true, in Professor Bowne's opinion, without reflecting upon the

With our text and principles of interpretation before us, we can proceed to our critical exegesis. We say of the universe as a whole and of its several parts that they exist; what do we mean by that? "*In what does the nature or being of things consist?*" The being of things is sometimes thought to consist in pure being, which is destitute of characteristics or quality of any kind. Of pure being we can only say that it is. We cannot say that it is this, or that, because in saying so we should predicate characteristics of it, and by definition it is destitute of these. Our first and third principles dispose of this theory. Being must be so conceived as to explain all manifestation, and, by the law of the sufficient reason, every manifestation must have some determining ground in its cause to explain its own specific character. Further, every manifestation is definitely this, or that, and, by our fourth principle, only the definite can give rise to the definite. The passive being of common sense, and the substance of the Scotch metaphysicians, are as easily disposed of. Passive being does nothing, explains nothing. By our first principle, the only reason for postulating the existence of any thing is that it may serve to explain phenomena. The substance of Scotch metaphysics is exposed to the same objections; for if active, the form of its action would be a quality, and, as inactive, it is only the passive being already disposed of. What, then, is the mark by which we distinguish being from non-being? "Common sense would at first be tempted to find it in phenomena. The real is that which can be seen or touched. But common sense would quickly perceive the untenability of this view and the idealism implied in it, since it would make the existing identical with the phenomenal;" that is, with states of consciousness. "Since this mark cannot be found in being it must be sought elsewhere, and it appears that the distinctive mark of being consists in some power of action. Things, when not perceived, are still said to exist, because of the belief that though not perceived, they are in interaction with one another, mutually determining and determined. Things are distinguished from non-existence by this power of action and mutual determination. . . . In speaking of pure

moral character of the universe, so to speak. Phenomenalism, Professor Bowne's idealism, though it departs from common sense very widely, does not, he thinks, if true, reflect upon the moral character of the universe.

being we said that only the determined can exist; we must now supplement this by adding that only the determining has existence."—P. 46. We shall see additional reason for this if we remember that being is posited for the explanation of phenomena, (Principle 1,) and that only the active can explain the phenomena of this changing world, (Principle 4.)

But a difficulty occurs. "It will be said that our definition of being is not a definition, but only gives a mark which being must have. But, back of the power by which being is distinguished from non-being, lies being itself, and we seek to know what this is. The notion of cause admits of analysis into the ideas of being and power, and hence cause is the union of the two. The being has the power, and the power inheres in the being."—P. 40. But we have only to refer to the principles already stated to see the answer to this question. If only the active can give rise to action, then the being which has action must be active. (Principle 4.) If we are troubled with the image of a hard, inactive core, as the representative of reality, let us persistently remember that only the active can explain action. But might not being, whose entire nature is action, suspend its action without ceasing to be? Might not a color cease to be a color, and yet remain a color? One question is as sensible as the other. Let us note, then, that Prof. Bowne's answer to the first question is that the being of things consists in some power of action. Note carefully that he does not hold that being is pure activity. The act cannot be conceived without the agent, and hence, according to Principle No. 8, we deny that the agent can, in reality, be separated from agency; each exists and is possible only in the other.

Hitherto we have been discussing the nature of things as distinguished from non-existence. Our effort has been to ascertain what fact we really predicate of a thing, or ought to predicate of it, when we say it exists. We now ask, *What is the nature of things as distinguished from one another?* Gold and silver, hydrogen and chlorine, matter and spirit, are very different. In what consists their difference? is the question we now attempt to answer. The answer to this question is really a corollary from the conclusion already reached. If the nature of being in general is to act, the nature of particular beings must be to act in a particular way. As there cannot be being in general,

so there cannot be action in general, and the particular concrete activities which constitute things, constitute different things because they are different activities. We know nothing about the mode or nature of these activities. We cannot tell whether they are conscious or unconscious. We only know that they are due to different agents acting in different ways, or according to different laws, otherwise what we call different things could not manifest different phenomena. Note, however, that when we say things are different agents, acting according to different laws, we are not to suppose that they all have a common being, for this would be a return to the notion of pure being. We mean not only that they differ in their form or kind of activity, but that in consequence they are agents differing through and through. Common sense naturally tends to locate the nature of the thing in its sense qualities. The nature of the orange is found in its color, taste, odor, etc. But thinkers of all schools have been compelled to abandon this idea. It is universally agreed that the so-called sense-qualities are mere states of the mind. They have an objective cause, to be sure, but utterly unlike the subjective effect. When this view is abandoned, common sense finds solace in the notion that the thing is an enduring, changeless substance, and that its qualities are its changing states. But, according to our fourth principle, this view is untenable. A changeless, inactive substance cannot give rise to action. Note, then, as our answer to the second question, "that the nature of a thing is that law or principle of activity whereby it is not merely a member of a class, but also and primarily itself in distinction from other things.

We have been occupied thus far with two questions, and the results reached have pretty thoroughly transformed the common-sense conception of the world. Starting from colored, gustable, fragrant, and sonorous objects, we have reached unpicturable *agents*, performing unpicturable activities, some of which produce in us those states of mind which we mistake for sense-qualities of objects, and imagine to be independent of the very mind in which they dwell. Let us examine another part of our text. *Common sense affirms that things change and yet remain the same.* Is that so? and if so, in what sense? Common sense returns a very simple answer. Common sense

affirms that things change and yet remain the same, because things are *changeless substances with changing states.* But this view we have already disproved again and again, and there is no need to examine it further. A changeless substance furnishes no explanation of changing states; only the active can give rise to action. (Principle 4.) If the qualities or states of a thing change, it is because the thing itself changes through and through. Here, then, we are in sight of the answer to our question. Common sense and science agree in assuring us that things are constantly changing; that it would be as easy to find co-existent points of time as to find a thing exactly the same in two consecutive instants. The change may be too minute to be detected, but we are sure it is there, and that keener perceptions would reveal it to us. There is nothing left to us, therefore, but to say that the thing itself changes constantly, and changes *in its absolute totality.* We have seen that the nature of all being is to act. We must now supplement this conception, and say that the nature of things is to act, and that, as a result of this action, the agent is constantly changing. Call a thing at any point of time A. Then we must conceive of it as passing into A′, and this into A″ and A‴, and so on. But this illustration is imperfect. We must not conceive of it as resting, so to speak, for a point of time in A, and then suddenly ceasing to be A and becoming A′. If we keep firmly before our minds the conception that the nature of being is to act, we shall understand that A never *is*, in the sense of enduring. As soon as it begins to be, it begins to cease to be. There is no gap between A and A′. Rather, if I may so express it, a constant gliding from A to A′, and from A′ to A″, and so on, according to the law which differentiates A from B. Is A the thing, and are A, A′, A″, A‴, etc., states? No. At one moment the thing is A; the next, it is A′; the next, it is A″, and so on. There is no reason whatever to single out one member of the series and call it the thing and the rest states. Each of them is the thing in that point of time in which it has its existence. Must we then entirely eliminate the idea of identity from our conception of the thing? Not quite. A changes into A′, A″, A‴, and so on, and B into B′, B″, B‴, and so on, according to a certain *law.* There is a *law* for each series of things, if I may so speak, which *law* remains the same. So

true is this that we can not only have A^n developed from A, A′, A″, A‴, etc., but by reversing the conditions we can develop A from A^n. We get ice from water by freezing it, and by the application of heat we get water again. Things change, then, according to a law, and this law remains the same. The law abides. The thing is constantly changing. As the velocity of a falling body constantly changes, according to an unchanging law, so things are constantly changing in accordance with a law that does not change. The only identity, therefore, to be found in impersonal things is the identity of law; all else is constantly changing. There is one kind of being, however, which unites identity with change in a different sense.

> In personality, or in the self-conscious spirit, we find the only union of change and permanence, or of identity and diversity. The soul knows itself to be the same, and distinguishes itself from its states as their permanent subject. This permanence, however, does not consist in any rigid sameness of being, but in memory and self-consciousness, whereby alone we constitute ourselves abiding persons. How this is possible there is no telling; but we get no insight into its possibility by affirming a rigid duration of some substance in the soul. The soul, as substance, forever changes; and, unlike what we assume of the physical elements, its series of changes can be reversed only to a slight extent. The soul develops, but it never undevelops into a former state. Each new experience leaves the soul other than it was; but, as it advances from stage to stage, it is able to gather up its past and carry it with it, so that at any point it possesses all that it has been. It is this fact only which constitutes the permanence and identity of self.—Page 97.

In brief, were our being only what Hume and James Mill affirmed it—a series of states of consciousness—a string of beads, somehow acting as though hung on a string and yet without any string—personality would have no other kind of identity than is found in impersonal being—the identity of law. But in addition to this, we have memory and self-consciousness, "whereby a fixed point of personality is secured and the past and present are bound together in the unity of one consciousness. The permanence and identity, therefore, are products of the agent's own activity. We become the same by making ourselves such. Numerical identity is possible on the ontological plane; but proper identity is impossible except in consciousness."—P. 98.

We take up another clause of the text of common sense. Common sense affirms that the various objects of the universe, while utterly independent, form *an interesting system.* The sun, for example, is supposed to exist in absolute independence of every other part of the universe, and yet to be constantly exerting an influence upon, and receiving influences from, every atom that exists in infinite space. We ask for the explanation of this. *We seek to know how independent things can interact.* "The fact to be explained, when reduced to its lowest terms, is this: When A changes, B, C, D, etc., all change in definite order and degree." What is the explanation? The answers of common sense will not detain us long. It is said that the thing transfers its state, condition, or influence, and that this transference is the act. But what is the state of a thing but the thing itself acting in a certain way? We have seen that things are agents, acting through and through. The only intelligible sense in which we can say that a thing transfers a state, influence, or condition to another thing, is that it produces a change in that other thing. But this is only a restatement of the problem to be explained, and not a solution of it. What we seek to know is, how independent things can interact, and we get no answer to this question by being told that they do. If we can only remember that things are agents active throughout, we shall understand that a state or condition of the thing is nothing but the thing itself at that particular time. We shall see that since the only existing things are agents, acting according to various laws, there is nothing to be transferred—that the states, influences, and conditions of common sense are mere names, empty of all meaning. We shall not imagine that we have explained the relation between A and B by manufacturing an unmeaning *x* as a go-between, especially so when its relation to A and B is exactly that which they now bear to each other, and, therefore, equally in need of explanation. We shall see that it is folly to solve one problem by creating another of the very same nature. Philosophy has made many famous attempts to solve this problem. The doctrine of Pre-established Harmony explains it by denying interaction. Independent things do not interact, because there is no interaction. Things seem to interact because they were adjusted to one another from all

eternity. When I lift my arm my volition seems to cause it. but it really has nothing to do with it. The motion of my arm follows my volition because it was pre-arranged to do so by Omnipotence. The wind does not cause the motion of the leaf. It moves solely because it was pre-determined to do so when the world was created. Occasionalism also solves it by denying interaction. Occasionalism locates the exercise of Omnipotence at the time of the event, instead of at creation. When I think I lift my arm, it is not I that do it; it is done by the immediate exercise of the power of God. What people in general regard as causes are merely occasions upon which God puts forth his activity. Positivism disposes of it by declaring it insoluble. Whether there is any such thing as action, in Professor Bowne's meaning, it declines to say. One event follows another, one phenomenon another, and this relation of sequence is the only action we know any thing about or have any business to believe in—though we have no right to disbelieve in it. A glance at Professor Bowne's self-evident principles will show us that he cannot accept any of these answers. We only assume being as it explains phenomena, (Principle 1,) but according to the doctrines of Occasionalism and Pre-established Harmony things really explain nothing. They are useless idlers in a universe where all the work is done by Omnipotence. We are compelled, therefore, to drive them out of the universe altogether, and we are left with no independent things to interact, and no problem to be explained. Positivism is equally absurd, because it rests on a doubt of efficient causation, (Principle 2.) Prof. Bowne himself unties the knot by cutting it. How do independent things interact? They do not interact, said Leibnitz and the Cartesians, because there is no interaction. They do not interact, says Prof. Bowne, because there are no independent things.

> By definition, the independent must contain the ground of all its determinations in itself; and by analysis, that which is subject to the necessity of interaction must have the grounds of its determinations in others as well as in itself. The two conceptions will not combine, . . . and, since interaction must be affirmed, the only way out is to deny the independence of the plurality, and reduce it to a constant dependence, in some way, upon one all-embracing being, which is the unity of the many, and in whose unity an interacting plurality first becomes possi-

ble. An interacting many cannot exist without a co-ordinating one. The interaction of our thoughts and other mental states is possible only through the unity of the mental subject, which brings all its states together in the unity of one consciousness. So the interactions of the universe are possible only through the unity of a basal reality, which brings them together in one immanent omnipresence. And this we affirm, not at all because of the mystery of interaction between independent things, but because of its contradiction. . . . But if we deny their independence, what need is there for going outside of them for something else on which they depend? Why not make them mutually independent, so that the series of things, A, B, C, etc., shall not depend on Alpha, but on one another? In this way each member of the system would exist only in connection with the other members, but the system itself might be independent. . . . One manifest objection is, that it seeks to make an independent out of a sum of dependents. A, B, C, etc., are severally dependent, but A+B+C, etc., is independent. But if A, B, C, etc., are distinct ontological units, this is absurd. There is nothing in the sign of addition which is able to transform a dependent thing into an independent. There must be some bond underlying that sign, and that bond is interaction. . . . We conclude, then, that the whole can never be reached by summing the parts, but that the parts must be viewed as phases of the whole.—Page 125.

Let it be carefully noted that this reasoning applies to space and time—indeed, to every thing that is. We cannot assume space and time, or being of any sort, save to explain phenomena; and if existing, they are active, and, therefore, have a place in the interacting system which requires the unitary, self-existent, basal being for its support and explanation.

It will conduce to clearness, perhaps, if we pause here and take a look backward. We have gone still further from the apparently plain facts of common sense. In the simple effort to make our text consistent with itself, and with the self-evident principles of reason, the independent interacting objects of the external world, together with the space and time in which they are supposed to exist, have gradually vanished. Colors, tastes, smells, sounds, space, and time have retreated from the world without to consciousness, and in their stead is left an Infinite Being, whose activities, together with those of finite consciousnesses, make up the universe. Perhaps some one raises a question here, and asks why consciousnesses instead of consciousness? What reason has the individual

thinker for postulating the existence of any thing else save the Infinite? The Infinite is the cause of causes. No thought, emotion, or sensation presents itself to the thinker of which he is not the cause. Why posit the existence of any thing else? This question is especially pertinent when it is remembered that we have already most violently mistaken the results of its activities for things totally different. We have imagined ourselves seeing a hard, extended, external world, but it has all disappeared in the course of our argument, and we have found the external world of the senses only a projection of the results of the activity of the Infinite. What reason have we to suppose the world of persons is any thing more? Our experiences being what they are, we should have the same reason for believing in a world of persons, if there were no persons in the universe. Will any one say that the Infinite cannot produce in us those experiences of sight and sound which we call seeing and conversing with our friends? These experiences given, and the whole ground of our belief is stated: similar experiences were only the ground of delusion in the case of the external world; why trust them here? Professor Bowne's answer is instructive: "The true reason can be found neither in psychology nor in metaphysics, but only in ethics. Our belief rests ultimately on the conviction that it would be morally unbecoming on the part of God to subject us to any such measureless and systematic deceit," (Principle 10.) At first sight there seems to be an inconsistency here. We have established the existence of our fellows by appealing to the veracity of the Infinite. But we have concluded that the things about us, the objects of the external world, are nothing but the activities of the Infinite. If the veracity of the Infinite is a sufficient guarantee of the world of persons, why not of the world of things? And conversely, if it is not a sufficient guarantee of the world of things, how can we accept the world of persons on such authority? The inconsistency will disappear if our examination of the common-sense theory of the world is borne in mind. By a rigid course of reasoning, we have found ourselves obliged to deny that the being of the external world consists in pure being, or substance, or the sense qualities of matter, and to affirm that it consists in the acts of a unitary, basal being, infinite, in that it is the self-sufficient source

of the finite, and absolute, in that it is not subject to external restriction or determination. It will be remembered that we reached this conclusion to escape contradiction, and to avoid inconsistency with those first principles of which we are as certain as of truth itself. When, then, it is asked, if the veracity of the Infinite does not commit us to the common-sense theory of the world, the question really amounts to this: Does not the veracity of the Infinite commit us to a theory which is full of inherent contradictions and irreconcilably opposed to those first principles whose absolute certitude is guaranteed by their own self-evidence? To say that it does, would be to affirm that we have the authority of the Infinite for being philosophical skeptics, for doubting that there is such a thing as truth attainable by us. This conclusion is absurd. The veracity of the Infinite cannot warrant us in doubting every thing, itself included. If we really have entire confidence in the veracity of the Infinite, we ought to have entire confidence in the faculties which it has given us, and in the conclusions to which a right use of them leads us. If a careful use of our faculties leads us to deny the objective existence of space and time—to affirm that colors, tastes, sounds, and odors are only states of consciousness, and that the external world itself is only the acts of the Infinite—this is the conclusion to which the veracity of the Deity commits us, and no other. But why conclude that the external world is a system of activities, or energizing on the part of the Infinite, and not simply a series of presentations in our minds? Our discussion, so far, has rather consisted in a demonstration that the common-sense view cannot be held, than in the proof that our view is necessarily true. We have, indeed, shown that our view is destitute of contradictions, and that it is in harmony with the first principles of reason, but is not the other also? Those who believe that the external world is simply a series of presentations in our minds may affirm an objective cause, and thereby satisfy the principle of efficient causation. Since the time of Berkeley, no one has had any success in attempting to show that there are any facts which this theory does not account for. All careful thinkers have been compelled to admit that if every thing should cease to exist except God, willing that we should have these experiences which we call perceiving a thing, we should never

know it. Why, then, affirm that the world is any objective fact, even though that objective fact be a system of energizing on the part of the Infinite? The chief reason is, that we "cannot avoid a feeling of dissatisfaction" with the view that "God is doing nothing in time but furnishing finite spirits with ideas that are for the most part illusory." "We lift up our eyes to the heavens, and instead of a revelation of might and magnificence we have a presentation, and this we falsely interpret." "If God have any interest in deceiving us in regard to external knowledge, we have no psychological or metaphysical means of defense against the fraud. Our only ground of assurance is the ethical conviction that such a tissue of deceit and magic would be outrageous. If we further ask what this conviction is based on, the answer must be that there is nothing deeper than itself."—Page 457. (Principle 10.) "If this fail, there is nothing left."

Our "world view, then, contains the following factors: (1) The Infinite energizes under the forms of space and time; (2) The system of energizing according to certain laws and principles, which system appears in thought as the external universe; and, (3) finite spirits, who are in relation to this system, and in whose intuition the system takes on the forms of perception." But what is the relation of finite persons to God? We have seen that impersonal finite things, matter, space, time, all impersonal things, are simply manifestations of the activity of the Infinite. Is this true of finite persons? Professor Bowne does not give a very explicit answer to this question. Hints thrown out here and there, together with the analogies of his system, lead me to think he has followed Lotze here also.* Lotze held that finite persons are a part of the manifestations and activities of the Infinite, which self-consciousness and memory mysteriously transform into substances. Viewed in relation to the Infinite they are phenomena; viewed in relation to themselves they are substances, having the power of free moral agents. Let any theist who finds difficulty with this view try to think through some of his own beliefs, such as, God knows all things, even the thoughts of our hearts; we derive our being from him and live in absolute dependence upon him; we are free moral agents. When

* See Preface, p. 7.

these and similar assertions are thoroughly realized, and their relations to each other comprehended, then let the reader return to this position of Lotze and Professor Bowne.

But what is the relation of the Infinite to the finite? The finite, we have seen, has only a phenomenal existence. The Infinite and its activities, together with conscious finite beings, make up the universe. The Infinite itself, so far as yet appears, may be viewed either as blind, unintelligent, unconscious cause, or as free, intelligent, and conscious. In the former case, the finite must be viewed as expressing the nature of the Infinite; in the latter its plans and purposes. In the latter case "No member of the system will have any ontological or other rights except such as its position and significance in the system secure for it. Every finite being is what it is, and where it is, and when it is, solely and only because of the requirements of the fundamental plan." In the former "the finite is just as dependent, and the nature of the Infinite becomes the determining principle of all existence. The system and its members will be in every respect what this nature may demand, and a knowledge of what can be, will depend upon a knowledge of this nature." Unless you can grasp the nature of the Infinite in the one case, or learn his plans in the other, you have no logical ground for any confidence respecting the future. How do you know that it is not a necessary consequence of the nature of the Infinite, supposing it to be unconscious, that you and all other finite beings should cease to exist in the next instant? Have you been able to discover its nature, and deduce from thence that the universe will stand a thousand years? Supposing it to be conscious, how do you know that it is not in accordance with the purposes of the Infinite that all things should cease to exist in the next instant? Do you talk about deductions from the uniformity of nature, the doctrine of probabilities, the indestructibility of matter, etc.? How do you know that it results from the nature of the Infinite that nature shall be uniform tomorrow? If the Infinite be intelligent, the uniformity of nature is only an expression of the unfailing steadiness of his purposes. Will any one venture to say that it does not accord with the purposes of Omniscience to introduce new factors into the phenomenal system from time to time, and withdraw old ones? How do you know that nature has been uniform in the

past? "If the arch of being were sprung at a word, the laws of the system would still have a virtual focus in the past, just as the rays of light from a convex mirror seem to meet behind the mirror but do not." The doctrine of probabilities is based on the assumption that the known facts are the whole facts. How do you know that the Infinite is not constantly creating new factors and withdrawing old ones, in consequence of the law of his nature or the character of his purpose? The indestructibility of matter is a mere formulation of relations observed between phenomena. How do you know that relations observed during the past will continue in the future? Are you sure that it will always accord with his plans that they should continue, or follow from the nature of the Infinite, supposing it to be unconscious? These questions can not be answered by metaphysics. Our confidence respecting the future is not based on logic or philosophy.

So far we have discussed the significance of the Infinite for the system, whatever be its nature. In this age it is unnecessary to dwell upon the interest and importance of this question as to the nature of the Infinite, and to this we now address ourselves. Given the facts of nature, and the facts and laws of mind, to determine the nature of that Infinite Being of which they are the manifestation; this is our problem. Professor Bowne advances three classes of arguments to prove that the Infinite is an intelligent and free being: (1) Ontological; (2) Cosmological; (3) Arguments based on the consequences of denying it. Under (1) are a variety of arguments. (a) We cannot conceive an impersonal Infinite. (Principle 8.) The attempt to do so results in a conception of interacting activities, instead of an agent exercising those activities. (b) We reach no proper ground of any thing on that hypothesis. State (c) was preceded by state (b,) and this by state (a,) and so on through an infinite regress. There is no satisfaction, no rest for the mind in such a conception as this. "The reason finds no rest in the assumption that the Infinite is determined by its states." We can escape this unrest only by assuming that the Infinite determines its states. (Principle 7.) But if so, (c) the abyss of arbitrariness yawns to ingulf us." A self-determining and yet unconscious infinite could only arbitrarily determine, and there is no rest for the mind in that conception. (Principle 7.)

The mind can find satisfaction in asserting not only that the Infinite is free, but that it is intelligent; that it directs all its activities in accordance with an intelligent purpose. This is the only way (d) in which we can reach an Infinite really absolute and independent. (Principle 8.)

His cosmological arguments are (a) the old design argument, which is too familiar to require statement; and (b) the argument that the Infinite is free because we are, since a necessary cause cannot produce a free effect. (Principle 6.) The first proves, or is intended to prove, intelligence, and the second freedom.

The arguments advanced by Professor Bowne under the third head will not admit of brief statement. I am obliged, therefore, to dismiss them with the remark that, in Professor Bowne's opinion, freedom is necessary both to the Infinite and finite knower, or all trust in reason and science is baseless.

The limits prescribed to me will not allow the development of the remaining parts of this system. Nor is it necessary, if I have succeeded in giving the reader its great, broad outlines. If the reader has thoroughly grasped its fundamental principles he can, to a considerable extent, anticipate its further development. If God and his activities, together with those of finite consciousnesses, make up the universe, he will readily see that the atoms of matter can be nothing but elementary forms of divine activity, and that force is only an abstraction therefrom. Since every thing that is owes its existence to the purpose of the Infinite Intelligence, he will see that the laws of motion, contrary to the opinion of thinkers, are not self-evident, save to those before whom the mind of God, in part at least, is an open page, understood without the reading, but that they are learned simply by observation. He will have no difficulty in deciding the question as to whether the universe is an organism or a mechanism. In so far as the organic theory affirms that the universe is governed by *preconceived* laws, is the expression of purpose, is working toward some definite, intelligent end, in so far, from the point of view we have now reached, it is self-evidently true. In so far as the mechanical theory insists on the universality of law—insists that the present is largely, at least, the product of the past, as the future will be of the present—in so far it also is self-evidently true in a universe which expresses the unchanging purpose of God, a part of which

purpose is that men shall be able to adjust themselves to the world in which they live. The limitations of the mechanical theory will be equally evident. It cannot explain the system which all its processes assume. In assuming, as it does, the changelessness of the quantity of the system, so to speak, that no new factors will appear and no old ones disappear, it is entirely unwarranted. The system, as a whole and in every part, is what it is and where it is and when it is, simply because it expresses the purpose of God. If his purpose demands the creation of new factors, they appear; if it demands the annihilation of old ones, they vanish. Under certain circumstances that elementary form of divine activity which we call an atom obeys the laws of gravity. Under others, the laws of chemistry, heat, electricity, vitality, etc. The much-disputed question of materialism—the question as to the substantiality or non-substantiality of the soul—is seen to be disposed of. Matter is the phenomenal—the non-substantial—and cannot explain any thing. Self-consciousness and memory, which discover, so to speak, and constitute our personality, constitute our substantiality. Phenomenally the materialist is right. The creation of the soul is always preceded by certain material phenomena, but it is only because these material phenomena constitute the circumstances under which God has determined that a new soul shall begin to exist. Professor Bowne's theory of perception is, in part, at least, an immediate inference from his axiom that there can be no action without reaction. (Principle 5.) The nervous motions act upon the mind, and the mind reacts with sensation. The question whether there is any further reaction, as to whether thought imposes forms upon its sensations, brings them into relations by means of its own independent activity, does not follow from any of Professor Bowne's axioms. His affirmative answer, however, can be readily inferred from his position on self-evident truth, already stated.

Here I must bring this exposition to a close. I have only space for the most cursory criticism. If this system can answer five questions correctly it ought to be accepted: (1) Is there self-evident truth? (2) If so, how do we learn it? and (3) What truths are self-evident? (4) What is the true philosophic method? (5) What inferences follow from the correct use of the true philosophic method? Taking the second question first,

Professor Bowne is plainly right in his opinion that if there is self-evident truth it is learned by the direct and immediate apprehension of the mind. If it were learned otherwise it would not be *self*-evident—evident because of itself—but because of other reasons. But, just because of this, it appears to me that we must say that there are practically no self-evident truths, except the purely formal laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. With the exception of these, there seems to me no way of distinguishing between truths really self-evident and those that simply *seem* such. Any system which assumes to rest on self-evident truth must claim that character for the facts of memory. But every one knows that memory sometimes deceives us, and the fact to be noted is, that memory deceiving us and memory telling us the truth have for consciousness the same characteristics. If one is self-evident, so is the other. If one is not, neither is the other. Of course we are obliged to say that the fact, so-called, to which memory falsely testifies is not self-evident; that it only seems to be so; that the final justification of our confidence in memory is to be found elsewhere. Now this seems to me an illustration of a general truth, which, to judge from some of his writings, Professor Bowne apprehends clearly enough. He sums up one of his Chautauqua lectures with this statement: "All beliefs and assumptions which rest upon a fundamental instinct of the mind, and which lead to mental peace, or growth, or self-possession, must be allowed to stand as true until they are positively disproved. All our knowledge rests upon an act of faith which cannot be justified except by its outcome." Now that seems to me to be very near the simple truth, but it plainly gives up the position that knowledge rests on self-evident truth. The so-called self-evident truths are simply "fundamental instincts" which, so far, have led to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession," and the point to be noted is that this, and not any spurious self-evidence, is their sole philosophic ground. This brings me to the fourth question. Unless Professor Bowne maintains that, in the nature of the case, there can be no change in the fundamental instincts which conduce to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession" his method transforms itself into Spencer's. His "fundamental instincts" are in the last analysis simply provisional truths, accepted because they conduce

to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession," and to be accepted as long as they continue to do so. This change of front certainly saves his system from some paradoxical appearances. Why a fact of common sense—the independent, objective existence of space and time, for instance—should be held to be true only provisionally, while the principles of common sense are held to be absolute certainties, it is pretty hard to see. One appears to be just as much or as little self-evident as the other. It appears to me that no idealist can consistently appeal to common sense to establish any truth absolutely; he has disregarded its testimony too violently in rejecting the independent existence of the external world.

If the positions already stated have been correctly taken, the third question is already disposed of. But waiving this, it is to be noted that there is but one way in which it can be shown that certain truths, so-called, are not self-evident. When two propositions contradict each other, only one of them *can* be self-evident; the other, of course, may not be. Now the critical reader has probably seen already the contradiction between Principles 1 and 11. We assume the existence of our fellows on ethical grounds, and not because they explain phenomena, since, as a matter of fact, they do not. Either, then, we must give up our right to believe in the existence of our fellows, or give up his Principle No. 1. That first principle seems to me to be flatly inconsistent with the sound principle quoted from his Chautauqua lecture. Why may not the belief in being be a fundamental instinct, as well as the belief in causation?

The eleventh seems to me absurd on the face of it. If we accept absolutely, and without modification or qualification, every fact of common sense, on the ground that any thing else is inconsistent with the veracity of God, we have a consistent position. But the moment we modify the facts of common sense in the slightest particular all such appeals become absurd. The veracity of God either indorses every fact of common sense or none.

The seventh and eighth, as I have already said, I think Professor Bowne would disclaim, though they are necessary to his reasoning. Let the reader note what ruin befalls this system when Principles 1, 7, 8, and 11 are discredited, and he will see that the answer to the fifth question can be readily dispensed with.

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, July, 1882. (Chicago.)—1. The Native Races of Columbia; by E. G. Barney. 2. The Divinity of the Hearth; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 3. Palæolithic Man in America; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. Early European Pipes Found in the United States; by E. A. Barber. 5. The Prehistoric Architecture of America; illustrated; by Stephen D. Peet.

Baptist Quarterly Review, July, August, September, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Necessity for the Atonement as Grounded in the Nature of Man; by Rev. A. E. Waffle. 2. Baptist Principles, Practices, and Polity: Their Soundness Vindicated by their Natural Results and Logical Consequences; by T. S. Dunaway, D.D. 3. Will and Free-Will. From the Reliques of the late Samuel Talbot, D.D. 4. The Unpardonable Sin; by Rev. J. W. Davis. 5. A Study of Plutarch—Was He Christian? by J. W. Weddell. 6. Ulrici on "The Soul in its Relation to God." Translated by Rev. Geo. B. Stevens. 7. Some Hymns and Songs of the German Anabaptists; by Franklin Johnson, D.D.

Christian Philosophy Quarterly, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Gains and Losses of Faith from Science; by President Bascom. 2. Recent Physical Theories in their Bearing on the Theistic Argument; by Prof. B. N. Martin. 3. The Bible as a Final Authority for Religious Truth; by Rev. S. S. Martyn. 4. The Final Philosophy; by Rev. William L. Ledwith.

Christian Quarterly Review, July, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Our Relations to the Denominations; by A. J. Thomson, A.M. 2. God's Touch Direct To-Day; by W. B. Gallaher, A.B. 3. Certain Alleged Immoralities of the Bible; by G. W. Longan. 4. Our Power and Our Danger of Suppressing It; by O. A. Carr, A.B. 5. The Permanent Ministry of the Church; by A. E. Myers, A.M. 6. The Simplicity of the Gospel. Part II; by Wm. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 7. The Tendency of Protestantism; by J. S. Lamar, A.M.

Lutheran Quarterly, July, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Church's Future; by Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D. 2. Paul as a Witness to Christ; by President David J. Hill, A.M. 3. The Pastor's Use of the Lord's Supper; by Prof. C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Beneficiary Education; by Rev. P. G. Bell. 5. The Evangelist of The Old Testament; by Prof. George H Schodde, Ph.D. 6. Romans v, 12; by C. M. Esbjörn, A.B.

New Englander, July, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. Education of Men of Science; by Prof. Edward Hungerford. 2. Modern Materialism; by E. R. L. Gould. 3. Exegesis of 1 Peter iii, 18–20; or, Christ's Preaching to the Spirits-in-Prison; by Rev. Wm. W. Patton, D.D. 4. The Old Testament in the Christian Church; by Rev. James B. Gregg. 5. Spiritualism, a So-called Scientific Question. An Open Letter to Prof. Hermann Ulrici, D.D.; by Prof. A. Wundt, Translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 6. The Emblems in the Lord's Supper; by Rev. Charles Beecher. 7. The Greek Text of the Revisers and its Critics; by Prof. F. P. Denio. 8. Christianity and Wages; by Rev. O. A. Kingsbury. 9. To a Portrait; by Edward Stanley Thacher.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1882. (Boston.)—1. Events Incident to the Settlement of New Netherland; by James B. Stanwood, Esq. 2. Wendell Genealogy. With Tabular Pedigree; by James B. Stanwood, Esq. 3. Constables, (Concluded:) by Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Ph.D. 4. Genealogy of Ezekiel Williams of New Hartford, N. Y.; by Theo. B. Seward, Esq. 5. Letters of the Rev. John Eliot; Com. by G. D. Scull, Esq. 6. Braintree Records. (Continued:) Com. by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 7. Cockenham, Codnam, Codman: by Arthur Amory Codman, Esq. 8. Thacher's Record of Marriages at Milton, (Continued;) Com. by Edward D. Harris, Esq.

9. Descendants of Bartholomew and Richard Cheever; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 10. Longmeadow Families, (Continued;) Com. by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 11. Wentworths at Bermuda; by Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D. 12. Additions and Corrections to the Wentworth Genealogy; by Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Wages, Prices, and Profits; by Hon. Carroll D. Wright. 2. The Personality of God and of Man; by Geo. P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 3. Polygamy in New England; by Leonard Woolsey Bacon. 4. Rationality, Activity, and Faith; by Prof. William James. 5. The New Irish Land Law; by Prof. King. 6. Proposed Reforms in Collegiate Education; by Lyman H. Atwater.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1882. (Boston.)—1. St. Thomas Aquinas and the Future Life; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 2. The Divine Responsibility; by Rev. C. W. Biddle. 3. Theories of Skepticism—Atheism; by Wm. Tucker, D.D. 4. Human Destiny a Vital Question; by Rev. Varnum Lincoln. 5. The Puritans and the Quakers; by Leo R. Lewis. 6. The Restoration of Humanity; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 7. "The Celestial Earth" of the Ancients; by Rev. O. D. Miller.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Emerson as a Poet; by Edwin P. Whipple. 2. The Business of Office-Seeking; by Richard Grant White. 3. Hydraulic Pressure in Wall-street. 4. The Ruins of Central America. Part XI; by Désiré Charnay. 5. The Things which Remain; by Gail Hamilton. 6. False Taste in Art; by Francis Marion Crawford.

August.—1. Progress of Thought in the Church; by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. 2. The Organization of Labor; by T. V. Powderly. 3. The United States Army; by Archibald Forbes. 4. Woman's Work and Woman's Wages; by Charles W. Elliott. 5. The Ethics of Gambling; by O. B. Frothingham. 6. The Remuneration of Public Servants; by Frank D. Y. Carpenter. 7. Artesian Wells upon the Great Plains; by Dr. C. A. White.

At the time that rumors were pervading the public mind impeaching the moral conduct of Mr. Beecher we were in Florida, and were asked by a venerable Presbyterian minister, "What is the present impression at the North in regard to Mr. Beecher?" We replied, as nearly as we can recollect, in the following words: "We are all very unwilling to associate any impure idea with Mr. Beecher's moral character. As to his theology, we Methodists do not now vary very far from his positions, but we have fearful misgivings as to where he will finally land." "That," replied he, "exactly expresses my feeling." At the present time Mr. Beecher may talk about "the Church," but the evangelical Church does not accept him as her spokesman, nor adopt his statements as generally just or true.

Mr. Beecher's first sentence (in Article First) is this: "It may seem strange to say that if the American people are ever driven away from the Church, and from faith in the Christian religion, it will be the fault of the Church and of the pulpit."

This reminds us of a chapter in the "Memoir of Byron" written a few years ago by his elegant Italian strumpet, Guicci-

oli. In treating the moral character of that celebrated genius she showed to her own satisfaction, and no doubt to the satisfaction of her own class, that Byron's immoralities were the result of the misdoings of the Christian people. If they had managed right he would have been right. Society, the Church, and the moral classes were truly responsible; and if any ~~body~~ is damned, doubtless it should be they, and not he. Similarly, some years ago, Dean Stanley and other good bodies, called a public meeting of non-churchgoers to furnish in public conference the reasons for not attending worship and becoming Christians. The dean and his brethren were richly rewarded. Such lectures they got, showing that the clergy, the Church, and the Christian community were all wrong, and entirely responsible for the negligence of the Sabbath-breaking rabble, while the rabble itself was all justified and right! And lately some feminine genius, we think it was Gail Hamilton, came out with an essay, in the "Independent," if we rightly recall, of similar ethics, showing us that the Christian folks were all responsible for the rampant atheism of Robert Ingersoll. These rascally Christian people have done so, and so, and so; whereas, if they had done thus, and thus, and thus, Robert would have been a saint, perhaps the Whitefield of the age. And now Mr. Beecher, at the first off, is pleased to tell us that if the age becomes infidel the Church is responsible. And the remedy he furnishes for the Church is to become semi-infidel. Let the Church give up half, and of course, when it has done that, it will never be called upon—O not at all—to *surrender the other half.*

Now all these impeachments of the good are very fine gospel to make the sinners happy. It is delightful news for the harlots to know that the chaste are alone guilty for all their peccadillos; for the drunkards to realize that the temperance folks are really guilty for their own inebriation; for the atheists to rejoice in the responsibilities of the worshipers of God for their blasphemies; for the Sabbath-breaker to know that the quiet people in church are the real rowdies; for the Guiteaus to sing hymnals over the divine assurance that it is the Garfields that ought to be hung; just as Mr. Beecher assures the infidels that the Church is to blame for their unbelief.

We trample down these foul libels upon the Christian

Church and upon all the good. Unbelief is responsible for itself. It is the sinner that is to be damned, not the righteous. It is the infidel rejecter of God and Christ that will be sentenced by Christ to everlasting death. If the age becomes infidel it will be the work of the Darwins, the Huxleys, the Du Bois-Raymonds, the Haeckels, and their semi-Christian apologists. It was Byron, not Reginald Heber nor Richard Watson, that committed public adultery with the Guiccioli in Italy. "He that is wise is wise *for himself;* and he that scorneth he alone shall bear it."

How was Reginald Heber, as a responsible being, any more called upon to take care of the soul of Lord Byron than Byron to take care of the soul of Reginald Heber? How am I any more bound to take care of Mr. Ingersoll's well-being than Mr. Ingersoll to take care of me? It may be said that Heber made such his profession, and so was bound to special responsibility. But Lord Byron was as much bound to assume all the conditions, professional or otherwise, of responsibility as Reginald Heber. They both stand on the same primitive responsible hard-pan. And what right has the profligate to hold himself authorized to run into all excess of riot, and charge it to society and Church? He is as much bound to make society and Church better as any body, and his damning guilt is that he is doing what he can, against their best efforts, to make them worse. Society and Church would be better but for him. He is a part of society, and its damaging and demoralizing part, and his damnation is just.

Mr. Beecher surrenders Genesis, Eden, and the fall of man to ultra-Darwinism, embracing the monkeydom of man. To render the doctrines of the Fall and original sin odious, he identifies them with the doctrine of reprobation, and quotes the Calvinistic "Confession" on that point at full length. He thus ignores the fact that predestination was rejected by the early Church as heresy; by the eastern Church always; and generally by the western Church. He forgets that, even at the Reformation and after, it was rejected by Melanchthon, Arminius, and Wesley, and all their adherents. But the fall of man and original sin are, unlike predestination, simply facts of "heredity;" a heredity not more objectionable than evolution plentifully admits. Rejecting the doctrine of "inherited

guilt," the Fall simply implies that *our first progenitor fixed the moral grade of his posterity by the laws of generation.* Assuming that there is a definite human *species*, which Mr. Beecher admits, then he may be defied to show it unreasonable that there should be a definite progenitor of that *species*, and that the character of the *species*, as *species*, should be graded by "heredity" from that progenitor.

Mr. Beecher annihilates Adam as "with a besom." Yet how can he do without an Adam? He still believes, we assume, in the *immortality* of the human species. Then the human species, as a species, and as *human*, had commencement. The species thus has a unity. It has a transcendent mark of *species*, invisible to Mr. Huxley but recognized by Mr. Beecher—immortality! There must also have been a moment when it ceased to be mere mortal brute and became *immortal* MAN. There must, then, have been a chronological point of commenced immortality—and that let us call the Adam point. Did it commence with a myriad individuals at once, or with but one? Logical parsimony, which forbids assuming more than necessary, suggests that it should be with but one. All human-like forms previous to that one, then, are but anthropoids, not *men*. That *one is our* ADAM. He may have been preceded by hundreds of generations of anthropoids. He was, if Darwinism is true. He may have been contemporaneous with anthropoids. Those anthropoids may have been able to chip a flint, to utter monosyllabic speech, nay, to sketch a mammoth or reindeer. All this does not destroy our Adam. That Adam, reasoning scientistically, may have been billions and trillions of years ago; or he may have been, as sacred history says, seven thousand years ago; just as the incarnate Jesus (in whose incarnation, we assume, Mr. Beecher still believes) was less than two thousand years ago. And when we consider what an endowment IMMORTALITY is, how transcendent the change from brute annihilation to a resurrection and a bright eternal life, it is scarce rational to suppose that it is a mere *natural* event. We know no energy in nature to produce such a change. It was, then, a *divine* INAUGURATION. Whether made from fresh terrene material, or from some humbler form of life, (in regard to which we have our opinion,) immortal man was a transcendently new creation, and

a very "special creation." And we can hardly conceive that it should take place without throwing an Eden, like a divine halo, around the scene, and around the brand-new Immortal. Fresh from the divine hand, yet a free being, we could believe that his radiant nature, if freely retained and hereditarily transmitted, would have flung a perpetual Eden on the earth's surface. How easily might a divine ether diffused through our atmosphere render earth a paradise and man an ever-blooming youth! And surely if man were angel-like earth would be heaven-like. We can conceive, too, that if man sinned and fell, that Eden would dissipate and leave a desert under curse. All this reasoning is valid if man became transfigured from brutality to immortality. Accepting this, how well can we understand Paul's parallelism between the first and second Adam in Rom. v, 12–21! Rejecting it, what an emptied, shriveled skin is left of our Christianity!

Mr. Beecher gives the following picture of the present apostasy, as it presents itself to his exultant eye:

The signs are in the air. Men no longer preach doctrines to which they swore in their ordination vows—or they give to them new meanings, at variance with historic fact. It is beginning to be permitted men to preach their own view of truth unclipped by creeds. Sagacious and cautious men are quietly sowing seed which they know will by and by destroy old notions. Other men testify to change, by greater zeal in teaching the old symbols of doctrine. Every age has a race of men who elect themselves to the care of other men's beliefs, who appoint themselves God's sheriffs to hunt and run down heresies. They are very busy. Men are ceasing to employ creeds as lines of separation between sect and sect, and are shaking hands in a higher fellowship over and across them. Creeds have ceased to be employed as conservatories of piety. Orthodoxy confesses that truth can no longer be kept in church or seminary by creeds, but only by living faith.—P'p. 108, 109.

He thus states the case of Andover:

Andover, next to Princeton the very Jerusalem of Jerusalems of orthodoxy, triply guarded by a creed made tight and strong beyond all breaking or picking, and to which the whole body of its professors were sworn to reswear every five years, has, alas! with some levity and merriment, shown to the world with what agility good men could fly over it, walk around it. They interpret the creed of fifty years ago, not by what its makers meant, but by what the professors think they ought to have meant,

and would have meant if they had received a full Andover course!—P. 109.

What remains of Mr. Beecher's Christian faith is thus indicated:

Between the heaven and the earth there stands God in human form, a man of such purity, wisdom, beneficence, that men believe that he came from above to translate heavenly life and love into earthly conditions. Superior to his own age, he has found no rival. If one was needed to teach men how to think of God, how to understand his goodness, his meanings, the genius of God's life and disposition, was not Jesus the very one? What power without ostentation! What insight into the soul's most subtle secrets! His very obscurity was as of one whose head was above the clouds. How much he thought of men, and how little of all the things after which the whole world rushed! What rigor of ideal purity! What pity for those who fell short of it! Crowns and kingdoms and dynastic eminence could not represent (?) such a one. While ages have quarreled, debating the evidences of divinity from the mechanical arrangements of dynastic power, the true tests of godliness have been neglected. To prove his divinity, men have trod down every vestige of evidence. They have despised men, hated and slain, convulsed kingdoms, soaked the earth with blood, and filled the sanctuary with infernal passions, in fierce argument to prove that Christ might be deemed divine! The signs and proof of divinity must be looked for in the soul. Love is royal. God is Love. Greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friends. Jesus did it for love, and is forever King in the Realm of Love.

Is such a name to die?. Will the world, when science shall have revealed all its secrets, find any thing else so precious, so needful for hope, for comfort, as this great soul that stood between men and God, to teach them the way to God?—Pp. 116, 117.

Except the brief phrase "God in human form," M. Renan might have written this passage describing Jesus as "a great religious genius." Let us hope against hope that Mr. Beecher means this phrase as confession of a true incarnation. The passage then stands like a lonely obelisk, remaining amid blank and desolation. We do not, then, quite know where Mr. Beecher has thus far "landed." But we apprehend that he is, and probably ever will be, about in harmony with the general tenor of what we may call the popular, secular, *newspaper theology*. And the said *newspaper theology* is about the poorest stuff extant.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Recent Ethical Theory; by Rev. W. E. Hamilton, D.D. 2. Is the Advent Pre-Millennial? by Prof. Samuel H. Kellogg, D.D. 3. Biblical Theology; by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. 4. Alexander Campbell and the Disciples; by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D. 5. Delitzsch on the Origin and Composition of the Pentateuch; by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Ph.D.

In Article Fifth Professor Curtiss gives a tolerably clear statement of the fundamental positions of the three schools of Old Testament criticism, as represented by Keil, Delitzsch, and Kuenen:

Keil belongs to that school which is bound in its interpretation and criticism of the Scriptures by certain dogmatic and *a priori* positions. Hengstenberg was a prominent representative of this school. Their view of the doctrine of Inspiration leads them to reject the idea that there can be any error in the chronological, the historic, or the scientific statements of Scripture. Their motto is *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* They concede that errors have crept into the text, but they hold that the Scriptures, as originally penned, were a perfect and harmonious document. The effort of this school is to harmonize discrepancies. They maintain that, when science has reached its ultimate goal, it will coincide with that of the Bible, and that every fact of Biblical history, so far as it has been correctly transmitted to us, will be found to be sustained by ancient monuments as they are brought to light. They stand or fall with the inviolable truth of Scripture in all its parts, whether of doctrine or history.

Delitzsch belongs to the evangelical wing of the so-called modern critical school. That wing starts with but one chief presupposition—the possibility of the supernatural and miraculous. They are prepared to find God a factor in history. For the rest they maintain that here as elsewhere there can be no scientific investigation which does not diligently inquire, What are the facts? These facts may be palatable or not. The investigator may ardently wish that they were otherwise, but he considers truth of greater importance than the teachings of any system, however venerable, for the facts may modify his system, and show where perhaps it has been erroneous or incomplete. He must not derive his views of Inspiration from the theories of the Fathers or of the Schoolmen, but from the statements of the Scriptures themselves as interpreted in the light of facts.

Delitzsch holds that theologians are in danger of losing sight of the human side by exalting the divine element too highly. There are marks of human imperfection and weakness in the Scriptures. These are not only manifested in the progressive element in the revelation, but also in the modes by which the Scriptures were transmitted and preserved. We need not therefore be surprised if we should find here and there errors in the history and the chronology of the Scriptures; and if we should find discrepancies in the accounts. These do not touch the es-

sence of Scripture; it is still a divine book, although it bears the marks of human infirmity. Furthermore, God took in the needs of the human mind, and the progress of human thought in making a revelation. Sacrifice was a human institution to which God graciously condescended, and which he adopted. But there is one conclusion of the critics from which Professor Delitzsch shrinks as unworthy of a holy God; it is that theory—held also in a carefully modified form by Professor W. Robertson Smith—which maintains that certain portions of the Old Testament are literary fictions, pre-eminently Deuteronomy and the so-called Middle Books of the Pentateuch. It will be seen, however, that even in this he does not proceed altogether on *a priori* grounds, but that he founds his theory on a substratum of fact.—Pp. 556–559.

The views of the third school are thus stated by Delitzsch in contrast with his own:

"The historical criticism, as it is practiced by Kuenen and others, starts from the dogmatic presupposition of the modern view of the world; this criticism denies miracle, denies prophecy, denies revelation; and, employing these words, it joins with them philosophical, not Biblical, conceptions; the results of the criticism are, in the main points, ready, before all investigation. On the contrary, our criticism starts from an idea of God, from which the possibility of *miracle* follows, and, confessing the resurrection of Christ, it confesses the reality of a central miracle to which the miracles of redemption-history refer as the planets do to the sun. It confesses with respect to the harmony of Old Testament predictions and the New Testament fulfillment, the reality of *prophecy*. It confesses in consequence of self-knowledge, and of the recognition of God, which Christianity affords, the reality of *revelation*." Professor Delitzsch confesses in the third thesis that he "rejects *a priori* all results of criticism which abolish the Old Testament premises of the religion of Redemption."—Pp. 556, 557.

Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1882. (Andover.)—1. Mediæval German Schools; by James Davie Butler, LL.D. 2. Greece as a European Kingdom; by Rev. A. N. Arnold, D.D. 3. The Legend of the Buddha, and the Life of the Christ; by Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 4. The History of Research Concerning the Structure of the O. T. Historical Books; by Prof. Archibald Duff, M.A., LL.D. 5. The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah; by Rev. William Henry Cobb. 6. Theological Education. 7. The "Sacred Books of the East;" by Rev. Charles W. Park.

Among the most remarkable articles lately appearing in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" is a series by Rev. William Henry Cobb on the unity of Isaiah. The attempts of the German neologists to mutilate this book by attributing its latter section to a pseudo-Isaiah who wrote in the closing part of the Captivity raises the question, Is that section Babylonian or

Palestinian? Was it written by the Isaiah of Hezekiah's reign in Judea, or under the sway of pagan princes in the far East? Mr. Cobb, in an investigation unique for its ingenuity and thoroughness, leaves it clear with every candid reader that if it ever was a question, it is no longer so. In the present number he handles Mr. Cheyne, the author of an English commentary on the Isaian duplicates, and writer of an article on the book in the "Encyclopædia Brittanica," with an amiable temper but an implacable logic.

Professor Duff, who endeavors (Art. 4) to give a favorable view of Robertson Smith's importations from the German assailants of the Old Testament canon, furnishes the following not very recommendatory account of its real origin:

The Reformation in Germany set men free to think, and commanded them to study as men had seldom studied or thought before. But the most scholarly fruits of the Reformation could not be reaped at once nor early. Men had to fight with sword and pen. What they built was the fortress, then homes on silenced battle-fields, warehouses, council-chambers, universities. What they wrote was protests, charters, declarations, exhortations, devout sermons, hymns militant, or poetry that was feeble save where here and there a mountain song or a hymn of real faith burst forth. Each word served its generation; but students were ever yearning after a more graceful, truer speech, that they might think therewith more truly. Lessing arose and spoke, teaching the soul to utter itself and to listen to its own music. Then Kant summoned men to come and reason together. It was *God's grace that spoke through these two men*, as it was his providence that created them. The queen Science awoke ere long; and in pulpit and lecture-hall the eloquent, yet profound Schleiermacher poured forth his consciousness of the love of God, and sought to unravel the story of religious feeling in man and among men. A mysterious, devout thinker next appeared, declaring that in and through our own reason we may find God in ourselves, God in all history. Hegel's theory was grand and true, but a theory that needed demonstration and true illustration from the actual reading of all history's minutest details. When, then, Vatke (1835) professed to apply that theory to the Hebrew religion, and said, "Leviticus must have followed Isaiah, for sacerdotalism always follows faith;" the answer was at once, "A fair theory; but theory cannot stand upon itself. We question the truth of the theory, for all men believe that Leviticus preceded Isaiah. Let us study the books, the actual records, and test both the old belief and the new theory by these." Ewald plunged deep into the ocean of Semitic language and history, and wandered long in the depths, throwing up strange dis-

turbances, troubling the waters and all who would follow him. He paid little attention to Vatke's hypothesis, but was himself too often an inventor of *a priori* theories. When a generation had come and gone it was found, now twenty years ago, that in the opinion of the majority of Old Testament scholars the Pentateuch was constructed out of several distinct documentary elements, just as Semitic books of narrative are usually constructed. It was believed that there were three chief elements: first, a so-called Elohistic or priestly and somewhat philosophic document, dating from the early days of the kingdoms; secondly, a so-called Jehovistic or more popular document, which dated from the middle period of the kings, and whose narrative is interwoven with the Elohistic record; thirdly, the Deuteronomic document, dating from the reign of Josiah, a generation before the fall of the kingdom of Judah.—Pp. 501–503.

The theory, then, appears to be exegetics cast into an evolutionary mold, the canon sliced to pieces and put together again according to Darwinism. The principles of the theory are derived by "heredity" from a line of German skeptics and rationalists—Lessing, Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Vatke.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. What is the Outlook for our Colleges? 2. King James I. of England: by R. M. Johnston. 3. Robert Southwell; by Joseph A. Nolan, Ph.D. 4. Garibaldi and the Revolution in Italy; by John MacCarthy. 5. Protestant Churches and Church-goers; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 6. "Nearing the True Pole;" by A. de G. 7. The Decline of Painting as a Fine Art; by Arthur Waldon. 8. The Deistic Revelation of Spiritism; by Rev. J. F. X. Hœffer, S.J. 9. Michael Davitt's Scheme for "Nationalizing the Land;" by George D. Wolff.

The Catholic Quarterly is sure that Protestantism is declining. For this it has its proof facts; a few of which we give for the study of Dr. Dorchester and other optimistic statisticians.

THE COMPARATIVE ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCH-GOERS.

The Philadelphia Times of March 17 announced that by a calculation made on the previous Sunday 38,019 attended 9 Catholic churches, and 19,946 attended 56 Protestant churches. The proportion is about the same; the average attendance of a Catholic church being 4,000, that of a Protestant church about 300.

In April, 1881, the same experimental test was resorted to in New Haven, one of the capitals of the State of Connecticut. There 40 Protestant churches could gather only 12,000 within their walls, while 5 Catholic churches had congregations numbering 12,431; the Protestant average corresponding with that of Philadelphia, though the Catholic average was less. . . .

The Boston Advertiser made arrangements to take, on April

16, 1882, not a United States census, but a common-sense census of the number attending the services at every church in the city. Of the result it is said: "In a general view, the total view is a very considerable understatement, on account of the numerous forenoon services held in the Roman Catholic churches, all of which have a large attendance,"—in other words, the early masses (each of which has a distinct congregation not generally attending any other mass) were not included. Yet what was the result!

23 Baptist Churches	15,775	2 Swedenborgian	530
3 Congregational	805	3 Union churches	775
25 Congregational Trinitarian	15,005	9 Universalist	2,337
24 Congregational Unitarian	9,326	11 Miscellaneous and non-sectarian	2,738
20 Episcopalian	12,040		
6 Jewish	958		
2 Lutheran	591	160 Protestant churches	75,572
23 Methodist Episcopal	9,336	30 Catholic churches (early masses not generally counted)	49,337
2 Methodist	2,058		
7 Presbyterian	3,300		

Thus, in the chief city of Puritan New England, there were, according to these figures, two Catholic to three Protestant church-goers, and on a full count including all the masses, the Catholics would undoubtedly equal the Protestant in number.

In the same month a census was taken in St. Louis, which showed at 104 Protestant churches 34,109, and at 34 Catholic churches 85,171, the Protestant average being about 320—the Congregational with 2,105 in 5 churches, the German Evangelical with 3,868 in 8 churches, German Lutheran 3,651 in 9 churches, Methodist Episcopal with 5,833 in 16 churches, Presbyterians 6,926 in 17 churches, being above the average. . . .

Berlin, the center of the Kulturkampf against Catholicity, has a population so little given to church-going that most of the places of worship are comparatively empty on Sunday. Though, as we have seen, church-going has so rapidly declined here, American Protestants are shocked at the state of affairs in Berlin.

In London it is the same. Many of the old Catholic churches in that city, which the Established Church has retained, have on Sunday congregations of less than fifty. It is proposed to suppress some of the churches, and consolidate the parishes. The Ritualists are the only ones belonging to the Establishment which seem to interest any large numbers, and this is perhaps one reason of the hostility manifested toward them. There the Catholic churches overflow, and if the government sells the time-honored shrines, some of them will be, like Ely Chapel, restored to Catholic worship. Then the contrast will be sharply defined: then churches which Protestantism could not save from utter emptiness, will be filled with crowds who gather to offer the holy sacrifice.—Pp. 474, 475, 477.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Recent Japanese Progress. 2. The Puritan Element in Longfellow. 3. The Hittites and the Bible. 4. Bach and Handel. 5. The Poetry of Rossetti. 6. The Situation in Ireland. 7. The Ministry and Parliament.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Fall of the House of Stuart. 2. Rossetti's Poems. 3. The Empire of the Chalifs. 4. The Comedies of Terence. 5. Origins of English History. 6. The Panama Canal. 7. The Life and Writings of Edoardo Fusco. 8. The Late Lord Tweeddale's Ornithological Essays. 9. Sir Thomas Brassey on the British Navy. 10. The Haigs of Bemersyde. 11. Lord Beaconsfield's Speeches and Literary Works.

July.—1. Don Sebastian and his Personators. 2. Siemens' Theory of Solar Heat. 3. Indian Administration and Finance. 4. Littré, Dumas, Pasteur, and Taine. 5. The Red Book of Menteith. 6. North Borneo. 7. American Society in American Fiction. 8. Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century. 9. Three in Norway. 10. A Retrospect of the Session. Note on Naval Administration.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I. 2. Italian Literature of the Renaissance. 3. Mr. Matthew Arnold on Wordsworth and Byron. 4. Mrs. Fanny Kemble's Records of her Life. 5. Chinese Literature: its Connection with Babylonia. 6. Natural Scenery. 7. State and Prospects of English Literature. 8. Medieval Hymns. 9. Mozley's Oxford Reminiscences. 10. The Paralysis of Government.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Christianity according to Christ; by Rev. J. Monro Gibson, D.D. 2. The Catacombs of Rome; translated by Clement de Faye from the French of E. Schérer. 3. Have we an Ethical Substitute for Christianity? by Rev. John Smith, M.A. 4. The Exchange of Places. 5. Christendom in the Parables of our Lord; by Rev. John Kelly. 6. Constructive Exegesis; by Rev. Prof. William Arnold Stevens. 7. The Collapse of Faith; by Rev. Noah Porter, D.D. 8. The Influence of the German University System on Theological Literature; by Rev. Prof. R. L. Dabney, D.D.

Of all the articles in this number the most suited to the times is the eighth, taken from the "Southern Presbyterian Review," written by Dr. R. L. Dabney, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Virginia. It describes the religious state of Germany, the causes of its sad condition, the nature of that sort of theological and biblical schooling which some of our home theologians are zealous to Americanize, and reveals the results that follow.

Dr. Dabney belongs to the most high-strung Calvinistic school, and seems to imagine the *horribile decretum* to be the article of a standing or falling Church. Unfortunately the pages of the fine old "Presbyterian Review" are open to this neology. He will find perhaps that a less narrow foundation will prove a firmer for the Evangelical Church. As yet we

know no Methodist periodical in England or America, no theological professor, no leading theologian, who will give place for one hour to these attacks upon the sacred canon.

The following reminds us of the non-religious character of the German pastor and theological professor:—

With this State subjugation of the Church, and doctrine of baptismal regeneration, every German Protestant child is baptized in infancy, and is confirmed at the approach of puberty, before it is betrothed or conscripted. All are full members of the Church; all have been to their first communion; there is no church discipline in the hand of any spiritual court to deprive any of membership, although he become infidel, atheist, adulterer, or drunkard. Every member of the Church is, so far as ecclesiastical title goes, eligible to a theological professorship. The appointing power to theological chairs is virtually the State. *There is no need whatever that a man be ordained to the ministry, that he have a saving, personal knowledge of the Gospel, or make any profession of it.* Rather is it necessary that he attain the proper academic degree, defend his *Thesis theologica* in a Latin disputation, get himself much talked of as a diligent linguist and student, and an adventurous, slashing critic; and that he be acceptable to the government. The class of theological students, from whom the appointments to theological professorships most naturally are taken, *does not pretend to be in any way more spiritually-minded than the body of university students.* To require a credible profession of regeneration and spiritual life, as a prerequisite for joining a theological school, (or for receiving ordination and a parish even,) would excite, in Germany, nothing but *astonishment:* it would be hard to tell whether the feeling of absurdity or of resentment would most predominate in the German mind at this demand. It is not meant that none of this class of students are devout, praying men; there are, doubtless, cases of true piety. But no such profession or quality is ever demanded. Certainly there exists, between the mass of the students of divinity and the others, no marked distinction of manners, morals, church attendance, or habits of devotion. Church historians know that the theory of Spener and Francke was denounced by the general mind of Lutheran Germany, and dubbed by the nickname of "Pietism." But that theory was, in the main, embraced by evangelical Christians in America as almost a self-evident truth. It is at least an accepted axiom that the pastor, and especially the teacher of pastors, must be a man who has spiritual experience of the truth.

Hence, the American evangelical Christian must be reminded of the large abatement to be made in estimating the weight to be attached to much of the German theology. To tell our people that an author is *a theological professor*, is virtually to say, that he is not only a living, experimental Christian, but that he

is supposed to be an eminent one. His opinions are the object almost of religious reverence. At least, he has credit for the most thorough earnestness and sincerity in his teachings. It is supposed, as of course, that his declarations are made with all the solemn intent proper to one who believes himself dealing with the interests of immortal souls. It is hard for our people, practically, to feel that a man so trusted in the holiest things may be dealing with the sacred text in precisely the same spirit as that in which he would criticise a Saga, or an Anacreontic ode. To appreciate the matter aright, they should represent to themselves a Bancroft or an Emerson, with aims perhaps very genteel and scholarly, but wholly non-religious and unspiritual, criticising the authorship of Ossian, or of Junius's Letters.—Pp. 554, 555.

The following narrates the period of assault on the New Testament, as now it is that of assault on the Old:—

In the latter part of the last century, Semler led off in what was then the new school of Rationalism, explaining away every thing in the sacred records which transcended human conception. To-day, while there are plenty in Germany who hold to his skeptical results, none follow or believe in his criticism. He was first *Professor of Theology in*, and at last head of, the divinity school of Halle. Eichhorn was a famous professor of Oriental languages and literature at Göttingen, up to 1827. He also is a disbeliever in all the supernatural, and explains all the miracles of the Bible as natural events. The Book of Isaiah he regarded as entirely unauthentic—the product of a plurality of writers put together at random.

De Wette was theological professor in the University of Basel. He is usually regarded as the founder of the historico-critical school in Germany, which was, though less extreme than the Tübingen school, tinctured largely with Rationalism. He does not believe that the Chronicles are Scripture, or that the Apostle Paul wrote Ephesians or 1st Timothy. The latter he rejects, because it has un-Pauline phrases, and because it portrays a too advanced state of the Gnostic heresy for Paul's day, and a church government too mature. In these points he has been utterly refuted by Bunsen's *Hippolytus*.

Paulus, professor of theology at Heidelberg, 1811, was a thorough Rationalist, who "sat down to examine the Bible with the profound conviction that every thing in it represented as supernatural was only natural, or fabulous; and that *true criticism* consisted in endeavoring to prove this."

Baur (Ferd. Chr.) was Professor of Protestant theology at Tübingen from 1826 to 1860. He is usually regarded as the founder of the "Tübingen school," which arrogates to itself the name of "*the* critical." He has been both represented and contradicted by his pupils and successors, Volkmar, Keim, Hilgen-

feld, etc. Its principles may be said to be two: that nothing supernatural can ever have really occurred; and that the Christianity of the first age was from the first divided by two hostile and contradictory schools, the *Petrine* and the *Pauline*. For this notable hypothesis the only tangible pretext is the narrative of Gal. ii, 11–16. The advocates of the two doctrines had, he thinks, each their Gospels, compiled to suit their views; and the later Gospels, especially John's, were forged to smooth over this fatal breach and hush up the squabble, long after the deaths of the men whose names they bear. Hence, the source of the materials used for these pious frauds must be guessed. The guess of Baur and Volkmar is, that at first there was a brief writing of somebody, possibly the Evangelist Matthew, strictly Petrine (or Judaizing) in tenor. Somebody on the Pauline, or Liberal side, got up a life of Christ in Luke's name. Of this the Luke now in our Bibles is a later re-hash and expansion. Then somebody, to make weight against this fuller Luke, about A. D. 134, wrote the book which now passes by the name of Matthew. And after this somebody forged the Gospel of Mark, as it now stands, in order to smooth over this ugly Petrine and Pauline difference, and give homogeneity to the Christian scheme. Then, finally, about 170 A. D., still another forger wrote a Gospel, with the object of completing this amalgamation, and affixed the apostle John's name to it. But Baur's pupil, Hilgenfeld, supposes Matthew was completed first, then Mark, and then Luke. Köstlin thinks there was first a Mark, then Matthew, then another Mark, then Luke. Ewald, once at Tübingen, but later at Göttingen, teaches that there was (1) a Gospel of Philip; (2) some *Logia* or speeches of Jesus, of unknown authorship; (3) a short biography ascribed to Mark; (4) an anonymous Gospel; (5) the Matthew now in our Bibles; (6, 7, 8) three short writings of unknown authors, detailing incidents of Christ's early years, of which there is no extant remains or proof, but of which Ewald speaks as confidently as though he had them in his hand.

But an anonymous critic of this Tübingen school cuts the matter short. The "Anonymous Saxon" concludes that the fourth Gospel was the work of John, but that it is wholly unreliable and false. His theory is, compared with the learned Ewald's, refreshing for its simplicity. It is that John did his own lying.—Pp. 559–561.

Scholars have remarked how very similar the assaults of Kuenen and Smith now are to those of Baur and his school. Strauss and Baur had no followers among the theologians of America. Kuenen is more fortunate.

The following is a picture of the condition to which Kuenenism would bring us:

The evangelical Christian accordingly recognizes the spiritual atmosphere of these great centers of learning as *fearfully cold.* One index of this is, that American students of divinity around them, although sufficiently masters of the language to attend German lectures, feel themselves instinctively drawn to set up separate preaching. Devotional meetings are rare. Sunday is, to most, merely a holiday. The average university student is heard to boast, not seldom, that he has not entered a church for a year, and hopes not to do so until his marriage, when he will have to enter it once more. But he is none the less a baptized and confirmed member of the Lutheran Church. The state of church attendance tells the whole story as to the spiritual atmosphere. Berlin now has more than one million one hundred thousand people. It has about thirty-two Protestant places of worship, of which many are very small, and scarcely any have a full attendance. Göttingen is a little city of twenty thousand. Its university has about seventy professors and one thousand students. In the whole town and university are four places of Protestant worship—two of which are small. The "University Church" has *one sermon a fortnight* during the sessions. On a good day one may see there from fifteen to twenty-five young men who may pass for students, or, maybe, in part, genteel merchants' clerks. The theological department counts from eighty to a hundred students! Where are these on Sunday morning? "In the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg an inquiry was made, in 1854, into the condition of the Lutheran Church, and it was found that no service had been held in the head churches for 228 times because there had been no congregations!" No one has drawn this picture in darker colors than the evangelical divine, Christlieb, of Bonn. He says: "There are large parishes in Berlin and Hamburg where, according to recent statistics, only from one to two per cent. of the population are regular church-goers. Elsewhere it is somewhat better. But speaking of Germany in general, we may say that in the larger towns the proportion seldom exceeds nine or ten per cent., and in the majority of cases it is far lower." In fact, the general aspect of Protestant Germany, on the Lord's day, is prevalently that of a civilized pagan country like China. The bulk of the population does not enter God's house, but does go to places of amusement. The only marked religious activity in the larger part of Germany (there are happy *oases* of spiritual fruitfulness, like Elberfeld) is among the Papists. Their churches are thronged; and during the hours of mass the worshipers remind one of a busy swarm of bees about their hive. The contrast is, to the Protestant, most mortifying.—Pp. 557, 558.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (London.)—1. The Newer Criticism on the Old Testament. 2. Handel. 3. Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox. 4. The Christ of Fiction. 5. Weak Points in Apologetics. 6. The Life and Works of Heinrich Heine. 7. The North-East Passage. 8. The New Text of the Greek Testament.

The English Wesleyans have been revising their Catechism, and among the most significant changes we find the following mentioned and commended by the reviewer:

The second question and answer in the first Catechism are new. The child is asked, "Who is God?" and is taught God is our Father in heaven. This addition is suggestive of the spirit which has prompted a considerable proportion of the reviser's corrections. Certainly the original Catechisms did not forget that "God is love," but they did not give sufficient prominence to that aspect of the divine nature which is specially adapted to the minds of "little children;" they scarcely attempted to teach them to know "the Father." 1 John 3. 13. It must be confessed that even the Catechism "for children of tender years" had about it a hard theological air that was not calculated to win those for whom it was written. Very wisely is the declaration that our hearts are "inclined only to evil" qualified by the words "but for the grace of God," and it is a distinct gain to be instructed that we may "all hope for this grace," "through the Saviour, who was promised when our first parents fell into sin." Every one, too, must recognize the propriety of the changed reply to the query, "But will he save all mankind?" "We can be saved only by repenting and believing in the Lord Jesus Christ," instead of "Christ will save only those who repent, etc.," which seemed to carry with it the almost irresistible inference of the damnation of all the heathen. The change, however, which will attract most attention is the disappearance of the description of hell which Canon Farrar quoted in the first edition of his "Mercy and Judgment." We no longer read that "Hell is a dark and bottomless pit, full of fire and brimstone." Whatever may have been the source of this definition, it was not drawn from the Bible, and is therefore rightly suppressed.

If any one imagines that the aforesaid alterations indicate that the Wesleyan Conference is abandoning its belief in original sin or in eternal punishment, or is even lessening the emphasis of its testimony to these doctrines, he will commit a grave error.—Pp. 505, 506.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) By Dr. ADOLF HILGENFELD. 1882. Fourth Number.—1. Preface of the Editor to the Hundredth Number of the Journal. 2. HILGENFELD, Is the Gospel of John Alexandrine or Gnostic? 3. HOLTZMANN, The "Apostolic Convent." 4. BIMMER, The Three Accounts of the Acts regarding the Conversion of Paul. 5. TOLLIN, Servetus on Eschatology. 6. RÖNSCH, The Double Translations in the Latin Text of the Code of Boerner. *Notice:* ZUCKERMANN on the Materials for the Development of the Old Testament Chronology in the Talmud. 1882.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.). 1882.) Fourth Number.—*Essay:* 1. KÜHN, Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Letters from the Court of the Electorate of Saxony to Tucher in Nuremburg, between the years 1518 and 1523. 2. ENDERS, Supplement to the Correspondence of the Reformers. 3. HEINRICI. Illustrations of the Inscriptions on the Funeral Monuments of the Ancient Christians. *Reviews:* 1. DORNER, System of Christian Dogmatics, reviewed by Dr. HERMANN WEISS. 2. BERGER, La Bible au 16ème Siècle, reviewed by KÄHLER.

Kähler's review of the "Origin of Biblical Criticism," founded on the French Bible of the sixteenth century, is another proof of the readiness of the Germans, in these latter days, to investigate the theological doings of their French neighbors. He is quite generous in awarding to the French theologians a good degree of biblical acumen, but dissents from the title of The Bible in the Sixteenth Century, because it is impossible to separate the Bible of this period from the latter half, at least, of the fifteenth. The work is, in reality, an historical defense of biblical criticism against the stern prejudice of the Reformers; and instead of assuming the title which it bears, might much better, in the opinion of the reviewer, be entitled the "Exercise of Bible Criticism in the Time of the Reformation." The critical character of the German reviewers of theological subjects makes them formidable investigators, and the French have done comparatively so little in this line, that they are not likely to satisfy the Teutonic tendency to splitting hairs on a good many questions where the French would either have nothing to say, or at least declare the subject exhausted. Kähler is more lenient toward his French compeer in the line of theological criticism than most of German theologians would be likely to be; and, therefore, Berger may congratulate himself with getting off with so little scathing.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne (Christian Review.) May, 1882.—1. Naville, Electoral Corruption. 2. Schloesing, The Criticism of Renouvier. 3. Bonzon de Gardonne, Louise de la Valliere and the Youth of Louis XIV. 4. Literary Notices, by V. 5. German Chronicle by Lichtenberger, and the Monthly Review by Pressensé.

June.—1. Decoppet, The Natural Harmonies between the Human Soul and Christian Spiritualism. 2. Secretan, The Physical World and the Moral World. 3. Bonzon de Gardonne, The Robe of the Monk. 4. Sabatier, Two Receptions at the French Academy. Correspondence by Pressensé, English Chronicle by E. W., and Monthly Review by Pressensé.

July.—1. Schloesing, Criticism of Renouvier, conclusion. 2. Henry Gréville, by E. W. 3. Boegner, The Missionary Task. 4. Bridel, Philosophical Chronicle. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

The most interesting feature of the June number of the Review is Sabatier's criticism of the two recent elections to the famous French Academy. The forty so-called "Immortals" of France seem to attract the attention of every line of thought, and so even the French Protestants find in these elections food for thought or criticism. The point of special interest to them on this occasion was the election, or rather reception, of the most renowned scientist of France, at the present time, to the vacated seat of the Positivist Littré. At this remarkable session not only were the orators themselves renowned for their talents, but the importance of the questions to be discussed was even greater than they. There was a high dramatic interest in following their discourses, for under the form of the completest courtesy there was the conflict of hostile doctrines. Pasteur, the newly elected member of the august body, treated of the Positivism of Comte and Littré, not so much with the acumen of the philosopher as with the authority of the professional savant. Renan in his turn entered the debate as if sporting between his adversaries with the infinite grace and agility of his thought, teaching them both the lesson of tolerance in the name of enlightened wisdom. It was a singularly interesting spectacle to hear minds of this order explain themselves by turns with entire frankness, and develop their belief regarding the loftiest moral questions of human life. Pasteur, in taking the chair of Littré, was to accept the duty of eulogizing his predecessor. His modest bearing soon gained for him the sympathy of his distinguished audience quite as much as his well-chosen words. He confessed that he would be confused in so lofty a position were it not his duty to ascribe it to Science

rather than to himself. And this was the feature of the occasion, that Science was thus honored among a company of *littérateurs*. But there was even more than this, and that was the fact that Pasteur is a scientist who sees God in nature, and in all his far-reaching discoveries traces the divine hand, and openly acknowledges it. And this fact made the following words of Renan have an extra significance: "There is something that we can recognize in the most diverse tendencies, something which belongs alike to Galileo, Pascal, Michael Angelo, and Molière, something which forms the sublimity of the poet, the depth of the philosopher, the fascination of the orator, and the divination of the savant. This indefinable afflatus, sir, we have found in you—it is genius. No one has traversed with a step so sure as yours the circles of elementary nature. Your scientific life is like a luminous train in the great darkness of the infinitely small, in those deepest abysses of being where springs life." These words were regarded a great concession from the renowned atheist to the Christian scientist.

There is a very decided revival of the missionary spirit in the Protestant Churches of France, as may be attested by the brilliant article of M. Boegner on the "Task of the Missionary of the Church." This comes with peculiar significance at a period when the Reformed Church has all the burdens it can bear in maintaining itself in the strife of the age and satisfying its own growing wants. It certainly requires courage to speak to those Churches of their missionary duty when their self-preservation appears to demand all their strength; but Boegner does this on the principle that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and he contends very beautifully that the home Church will grow in strength and Christian spirit by following the Divine command to the best of its ability. He says: "I have the profound conviction that in awakening in our Churches the conscience of their duties to the heathen world we render them a present, real, and urgent service. Without this conviction I would not have asked this Pastoral Conference to direct its attention to this matter, and I myself would never have engaged in the service. Profoundly desirous of contributing to the advancement of the reign of God in my own country, I would not resign myself to work in foreign lands if this work were, as is often alleged, one of supererogation, a

luxury of charity. But the mission work is none of this. The missionary task is *par excellence* the work of the Church, a task whose accomplishment is the condition of Church development. This fact I shall try to demonstrate in showing you the place of the mission in a wholesome Church life, and the practical means of putting the work into execution." These inspiring words show that the French Protestants have heard and listened to the Macedonian cry, and are willing, as far as their feeble means allow, to respond to it, seeing in it their own spiritual growth. The Reformed Church of France is, doubtless, awakened to its obligations in this field of labor by the very unusual activity of the Catholic Church in the mission field. There never was a period when the French Propaganda was more active in extending its lines in order to conquer new territory and battle with the Protestant work in its various stations. The latest papal promotion to the cardinalate was clearly in the interest of Catholic missions all through Northern Africa, showing that the French are ready to call in the Church to supplement their armies and their colonists in distant lands. The very hesitancy of the French in engaging in the Egyptian troubles was, doubtless, the fear of stirring up the Moslems against their missions.

Edmond de Pressensé has made a recent visit to England, and gives in his Monthly Review, in the July number, his own views of the liberal tendencies of the Church of England. He was delighted to find the venerable Prelate of Canterbury presiding at a meeting of sympathy with the labors of Hyacinthe in Paris and the cause of Old Catholicism in general. He is generous enough not to see in all this sympathy of the Established Church a sort of *arrière pensée*, which is nothing else than the hope that an Old Catholic Church on the continent might be brought under the wing and protection of the English Church, for this is the avowed purpose of several of those divines who have most sympathized with Père Hyacinthe, and encouraged him with words and means.

Pressensé takes a more practical view of the singular liberality now shown by English bishops to the movements of the Salvation Army, which do not find much encouragement among the French. He thus explains the favor shown to this popular religious excitement by the High Church: "Angli-

canism has lost all its ascendency over the working classes, who repudiate its aristocratic forms; but it would still hold, if possible, these masses by any practicable bond; and therefore it asks itself whether the Salvation Army might not render it this service in spite of its eccentricities, that seem less formidable than an independent Church well organized as such. The Church demands only these conditions for its support, namely, that the Salvation Army shall not encroach on the prerogative of the sacraments, and solemnize these outside of its sanctuaries. These conditions were clearly stipulated at a meeting attended by several bishops; but Booth replies by reserving all the liberty of his methods."

Pressensé feels that it would be better to try and induce them to lay aside a part of their charlatan eccentricity, not at the requirement of the Established Church, but rather at the voice of wisdom and Christian spirituality. He sees in their methods those of a French holiday festival, and has no confidence in the round dance as a means of gaining souls for Christ. He much prefers the quaint and solemn meetings of Mr. Pearson Smith, where he witnessed immense assemblies enjoying, without any violent external demonstrations, the active piety and Christian sympathy of the true Gospel. And his views are in accordance with those of all French Protestants who have seen the Army and studied its evolutions. It will clearly be a failure in France, whose masses are much more inclined to listen to the words and join in the works of those who labor for them in the M'All Missions.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF THE GLOBE.

The persecution of the Jews in Russia has called, of late, unusual attention to all matters that concern them, and much interest may be found in the following statistics regarding their numbers on the globe, as given by an Italian statistician in the latest issue of his archives. Brunati estimates their numbers at 7,000,000, and, taking the total population of the globe at about 1,470,000,000, or 1,480,000,000 of souls, gives their proportions on the basis of thousands. He thus finds that in a population of 10,000 there are now 47 or 48 Jews. Europe alone con-

tains 5,620,000 Israelites. The total population of Europe being about 316,000,000, gives 178 Jews to 10,000 Europeans—a proportion of 1.78 per cent.

These 5,620,000 Israelites are very unequally distributed among the different European nations, so that while the sum total of the European nations of the Latin races count only one Jew to 1,100 individuals, the total of the Europeans of the Slavonic race counts 40 to the 1,000. This gives a great preponderance to Russia and her kindred nationalities. We give below the distribution, by states, of the 5,620,000 Jews of EUROPE.

Russia has 2,700,000 Israelites; or 41 to each 1,000 inhabitants. Austro-Hungary, 1,500,000; or 39.5 per 1,000. Germany, 650,000; or 14.4 for each 1,000 of the population. Roumania, 400,000; or 80 per 1,000; that is, the twelfth or thirteenth of its total population. Turkey in Europe, 100,000; being 11.3 per 1,000. Holland, 70,000; or 17.5 per 1,000. England, 70,000 also; or 2.03 per 1,000. France, 50,000; or 1.34 Jews to each 1,000. Italy, 40,000; or 1.42 to each 1,000. Switzerland, 7,000; 2.46 to the 1,000. Spain, 6,000; or 3.62 per 1,000. Greece, 5,000; or 2.93 to each 1,000. Servia, 4,500; or 2.76 to the 1,000. Belgium, 3,000; or 5.48 to the 1,000. Sweden, 2,000; or 4.41 to the 1,000. Portugal, 1,000; or 2.11 to the 1,000.

AFRICA counts 450,000 Jews, of whom 200,000 are in Morocco, 36,000 in Algeria, 60,000 in Tunisia, 100,000 in Tripoli, and 8,000 in Egypt.

In ASIA the Jews number about 400,000, of whom 150,000 are found in Asiatic Turkey and Arabia, 30,000 in the Caucasus, 20,000 in Persia, 150,000 in India, 12,000 in Turkestan, and 1,000 in China.

In AMERICA, there are about 300,000 in the United States, and 8,000 in South America.

And, finally, there are at most 20,000 scattered in AUSTRALIA and the various isles of OCEANICA; and this large dissemination makes the Jewish race by far the most cosmopolitan of the human family.

THE RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARIES OF PARIS.

It is extremely gratifying to observe the vigor and zeal of the little handful of French Protestants in the heart of the great city ruled by Catholicism and devoted to worldly pleasures. They meet annually, and have their manifold and varied programme; so much so, that it is quite impossible to give due attention to all the interests involved. There are in this band some twenty different societies, all of which made quite favorable and encouraging reports, notwithstanding the unfavorable religious and political condition of France for any zealous religious work.

The Society for Heathen Missions, whose honored president, Casalis, has retired in favor of a younger leader, extends its activity into Africa, especially on the borders of the Zambesi. The delicate question was raised whether it were not better, in the unfavorable condition of the times, to close some of the most distant and unpromising stations. This was answered unanimously and victoriously by the counter question, "Where is the place on which we are to inflict a wound on the sacred

body of Christ?" The yearly income of this organization was 254,000 francs. The Bible Society announces a completed revision of the Bible by Osterwald. During the year it circulated 32,000 Bibles, 4,000 more than in the year preceding. Its income and outlay were balanced at 38,000 francs. There is also a society for the cultivation of the Protestant Church History of France—an association which has done much good work for the last thirty years, and which offers annual prizes for well-chosen or original productions. The Tract Society reports the circulation of 300,000 tracts, 87,000 almanacs, and 4,000 books, with an outlay of 53,000 francs. The Society for Deaconesses, which was heavily in debt, has freed itself from the burden and spent 270,000 francs; while that for Evangelical Instruction, in spite of a slight drawback, collected 110,000 francs.

The work of evangelization from the Romish Church consumed about 280,000 francs, but has not been at all encouraging; and the question was asked, with great emphasis, why there are less accessions from this Church to theirs than formerly. The Associations for Home Missions, Asylums, Sunday-Schools, for Penny Collections for the Poor and the Orphans, and others of similar nature, all had their anniversaries, and most of them made also encouraging reports. Now all these meetings take place while the faithful and orthodox portion of the French evangelical Church is in a severe and dangerous conflict with negative elements in its own midst, showing a great deal of constitutional vigor and zeal, and a spirit of generous sacrifice worthy of all praise. In many of these assemblies the burning question of the popular elementary schools was seriously and anxiously discussed. It was acknowledged to be entirely impossible to establish their own schools in sufficient numbers on account of the expense, which would be largely increased by the scattered condition of their people. They found consolation, however, in the promise of the Government that in matter of religion the schools should be neutral and not hostile, and believe that this promise is given in good faith and will be honorably executed. They were united in the resolution to be extremely watchful in this matter, and to be careful to use the free days—Thursday and Sunday—for the special religious training of their children. These annual assemblies of the Reformed Church of France again prove that it cherishes in its bosom a noble inheritance and a valuable power of active faith. It certainly has the hearty sympathy of the Protestant world, which hopes to see it bear its banner high aloft amid all the discordant elements now rife in France.

THE TRIUMPH OF MISSIONS IN SUMATRA.

The German Missions in Sumatra have accomplished a most notable triumph in their self-sacrificing labors, and may well be pardoned for calling the attention of the Christian world to their signal success in their work, especially in that part of the island known as the Batta Land. They seem to have civilized the entire region, and to have introduced a parochial and church organization for their mission work that is really

exemplary in its systematic effectiveness. The Brothers of the Rhenish Mission entered Sumatra in 1851. They had previously begun work in Borneo, but had been driven from there in an uprising of the Mohammedan fanatics against their work, in which hundreds of native Christians and five of the missionaries fell victims to the sword. Those who escaped with their lives were by no means discouraged or intimidated, and immediately sought a new field, which offered itself in the neighboring Sumatra. Other missionaries had visited the beautiful island before them, but their work had not been a success. Several of the missionaries had been slaughtered and devoured by the Battas, and the Dutch government, for fear of a general disturbance in the Mohammedan ranks, had forbidden the establishment of other missions. At last, in 1856, a Dutch Missionary Society obtained permission to preach the Gospel to the natives, but they soon retired and left the field to the German Mission of the Rhine.

This was twenty years ago. Three years were consumed in learning the language and the land and people sufficiently well to be effective among them, and now, after seventeen years of work, they come forth with a civil and religious order that is simply remarkable, showing the result of a practical application of the ways of the Gospel toward raising a people from the lowest state of degradation to a condition of moral, religious, and even financial success, that speaks louder than theories and words. Their church organization is briefly as follows: The European missionary is the chief of the so-called mother station, and in each filial station the heads of families elect an elder, whose selection must be ratified by the missionary. Only those are accepted whose Christian walk and talk raise them above reproach, and who are thus calculated to be exemplars to their parishes. The duties of these elders are to visit the sick of their village, to advise with all communicants, and to see that Christian devotions begin and end the day, mostly under their supervision. They take charge of the poor fund and school fund, and make collections for the support of divine service among themselves and in poorer parishes. Every village that has fifty Christian families has a claim to a school, whose teacher is appointed by a school board. This board fixes the studies and the hours of instruction, gives the necessary direction to Christian observances in the schools, not forgetting Christmas, Easter, and other Christian holidays as are usual in Germany. As special aids in the work of spreading the Gospel among the people, the missionary has a well selected corps of helpers, known as evangelists, who are local missionaries. In the larger villages there are regularly ordained local preachers, whose support is provided by the parish. The European missionary in charge of a series of stations has episcopal prerogatives in the appointments of the subordinate workers. There is also a seminary at Panner for the training of teachers and evangelists, the course lasting four years, after which the pupils go out for a season in the practical work, and if in this they show an adaptation for preaching the Gospel, they return and take what is called the preacher's course.

The parishes have the privilege of choosing their preachers, and the duty of supporting them and the churches. In short, the whole arrangement is eminently practical and peculiarly adapted to make the work self-supporting and independent of foreign support. How successful this system has been is shown by the fact that the seminary, which now contains seventy pupils, has not received the least pecuniary aid from the missionary treasury.

Now the above story would be quite commonplace in the Christian work under the shield of civilization; but it is very marvelous when we reflect that only seventeen years ago these same people were given to cannibalism of the most confirmed character, so much so that enemies taken in battle were actually devoured alive; and all were considered enemies who lived in another village and were governed by another chief. Women were bought and sold, and they alone did the work of the fields, while the men had no other occupation than that of war. And now it is possible to give to this people, who are nearly all Christians, a moral and religious status and a regular church organization that controls the most of them. These facts are even more telling than figures, and the Germans claim that the mission work has no parallel to show for this. This brilliant success should encourage others, but it must not lead us to feel that it has been gained without great sacrifice and hardship. Great labors and struggles preceded this victory, as well as the greatest dangers. Several times these heathen people, led on by their priests, were on the point of slaughtering all the missionaries; but the hour of danger passed, and now the numbers are increasing every day, and the mission work bids fair to regenerate the whole beautiful isle.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Germans are still working away at the Cuneiform literature, and have just given us a new history of Babylon and Assyria. It is now more than a hundred years since the great traveler, Karsten Niebuhr, in his journey to Arabia and the surrounding lands, discovered in the ruins of ancient Persepolis the wonderful arrow-head inscriptions. This fortunate "find" was ratified and increased by Porter and Rich, and then by Westergaard, Rawlinson, and others. These inscriptions contained three kinds of script, and supposably, also, kinds of language. When the ruins of Nineveh came to light, mainly through the labors of Layard, numerous inscriptions were found that were identical with the third class of the cuneiform inscriptions. Then learned investigators hastened thither and brought home new treasures of all kinds. Since then, through the labors of such men as Rawlinson and Smith, Oppert and Lenormant, Schrader and Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyriology has been raised to an independent and solid science. Numerous publications in this line form

almost a library, and, thanks to the zeal of these men, we can now read the arrow-heads with great certainty. The profit drawn therefrom by comparative religious history is very great, especially in the line of Old Testament exegesis; and since the discoveries of ancient monuments still continue through those drawn from the ruins of Mesopotamia, we hope for a rich harvest for the future. During the last few years Assyriology has made great advances in the works of various men in several languages which have hitherto lain in rather an isolated condition. These have recently been collated and compared by Professor Mürdter, of Stuttgart, and the cream of the information is given to the world in a handsome work entitled, "A Concise History of Babylon and Assyria, according to the Cuneiform Monuments," with special reference to the Old Testament. To these Friedrich Delitzsch has prefixed a preface and added a supplement. The very best sources have been consulted; illustrations explain the text, and the comments of Delitzsch increase the value of the work. The religion and the people of both lands are popularly treated, as well as their cosmogony and theogony, their arts and sciences, and their political history. The book may, therefore, be safely recommended as a *résumé* of Assyriology from the stand-point of Bible study.

Whitsuntide, or Pentecost, is made quite a religious study among the Germans, and is regarded by the schools as well as the churches. It is even a period for a short holiday and recreation for the children, and pentecostal books are in favor and demand after those for the Easter and Christmas holidays. It is not, therefore, surprising to see the announcement of three new pentecostal books for the last season. One of these is by a famous poet and *littérateur*, Karl Gerok, author of the "Palm Leaves," "Pentecostal Roses," etc. The work bears the title "From Jerusalem to Rome," and contains eighty-three so-called Bible studies. In these Gerok succeeds in opening a rich stream of knowledge and thought from the sacred Book, which leads over into the broad edifice of the Christian Church, and thence into the narrower one of the family life of the first Christians. He deals beautifully with the first Christian Pentecost in Jerusalem, and calls the Acts of the Apostles the original Pentecostal Book, from which he draws all his lessons. A second pentecostal book, by Dr Andrea, is virtually a supplement to that of Gerok, treating mainly of the Acts of Luke, which he calls the "Origin and Early Development of the Church of Christ." While Gerok edifies, Andrea teaches; one is devotion, the other is instruction. But the latter is careful to avoid the pulpit tone and style, and to adapt it more to the purpose of attracting and instructing the young. And this goal he very successfully reaches, so that the scholar will gladly turn to it for a species of pious recreation from heavier studies. Another work that is born of the spirit of Pentecost has its origin in a humble parsonage of Holstein, and is devoted mainly to the significance of Whitsunday. It is termed the "Consecrated Pentecost," and tells the story of the sorrows of a daughter of the house, and the consolation found in recourse to the Author of all good. The three books indicate quite a peculiar devotion

among the German people to that most interesting event in early Bible history.

Dr. Zöckler, of the University of Greifswald, is just out with a new "Manual of Theological Sciences," that promises to be of much interest to the learned world of biblical literature. He is already famous as a commentator, and will thus receive a welcome among biblical critics. The first volume gives the fundamental view of theology as a science; the second treats of historical and dogmatical theology; the third of ethics and poetical theology, including the science of missions, both home and foreign. The first half of the first volume devotes nearly three hundred pages to the foundation of the science of exegetical theology, and treats also of the methods, the antiquities, and the history of Israel. The remaining theology of the Old Testament, with theory of the New, closes the volume. Professor Strack, of Berlin, and Professor Schulz, of Breslau, are co-workers with Zöckler on the Old Testament, one giving the Introduction and the geography of Palestine, and the other the history of Israel in outline.

Moritz Brosch has just issued his second and last volume of a very valuable work on the "History of the Papal State." His first volume was rather severely criticised because of the failure to deal in the personality of the Popes, their literary productions, and their ecclesiastical projects. But the author defends himself from these censures by saying that it is no part of his plans to treat of the Popes as individuals, but rather to treat of the "*Papal State*," the title of his work. Therefore he commences with Pope Julius II., the creator of this strange political formation, and ceases with Pius IX., under whom the effete Papal State went to pieces. He keeps closely to his subject, simply treating of contemporaries whose influence was allied to the development of the curious governmental complex. And, on the whole, he presents a very tragic story, and gives us a picture of incessant troubles and decay, through financial embarrassment, incapacity of the ecclesiastical rulers, and the machinations and counter-machinations of the Jesuits, of revolutionary and reactionary storms. He ends by saying: "The tribunal of the world, that has rendered its verdict in the form of historical facts, has overthrown all that the Popes of three centuries have raised with great sacrifices or crimes; all that to which they have often given their best powers, and not seldom their reputations, sacrificing the independence of Italy for the advancement of their plans of universal ecclesiastical rule."

The Protestant Church of Switzerland has a great deal of trouble about its hymnology, because of the cantonal jealousy, in the first place, and the different views of different sections, in the second. At last, from the hands of a commission, a hymn book for the Protestant Church of German Switzerland has just appeared, but only, it seems, to awaken new fears and censures. It contains four hundred and fifty hymns, and more than the half of these belong to the latest periods of hymnology, and it passes over many of the standard hymns of the German tongue.

The conservative pietists declare that all the thrilling hymns of their development have been cast aside, many of them absolutely indispensable in any collection of evangelical hymns. Severe censure is also accorded to the very frivolous way in which the text of some of the most beautiful hymns in the language has been handled, especially of the older ones so familiar to the fathers, and which it is so difficult to alter in the popular tongue. It is very clear, therefore, that the Swiss will need to try again in order to satisfy their people, and we very much doubt whether it will be possible to produce any collection which will at once satisfy both the conservative and the liberal wings of the Church.

A recent treatise on the Churches of the Orient shows them to be in a very unsatisfactory condition. Among them the Hellenic Church seems to be in the best condition. The growth of the district by the addition of Thessaly and Epirus has necessitated a new arrangement of administration in the conceded territory. The Patriarch of Constantinople relinquished his authority over this district in favor of the Metropolitan of Athens, with the reservation of certain honorary claims. At the same time a number of bishopries long vacant have now been filled. The National Assembly has also passed a new law in ecclesiastical affairs, which calls for certain new provisions in the choice of bishops. Hitherto, for instance, the Bishops of Athens alone have been regarded in promotions; now the entire Hellenic episcopate is to be considered. Efforts have also been made to give a better support to the clergy in general, and especially to those in charge of a diocese. The State, some time ago, secularized large possessions of the Church, reducing its income; and the endeavor will be made to restore, not the property, but the proceeds of it. The crying sin of its clergy is ignorance, and consequent want of zeal and efficiency. In the last lenten season it is said that but one single sermon was preached in all the city of Athens. The State is, and may well be, ashamed of this, and would correct it.

The theologians of Germany are waging quite a battle for the retention of the study of religion in the schools. Bona-Meyer has just published a volume entitled "The Struggle for the School." This author is greatly in favor of what are called in this conflict, in Prussia, the "Simultaneous Schools;" that is, schools in which the two faiths are taught separately to pupils of the same school in regions where Protestants and Catholics both appear in considerable numbers. And where the schools are overwhelmingly of one or the other faith, there let that faith obtain, and be taught as one of the regular studies. But this plan often produces a territory which it is not easy to declare either neutral or confessional, and there the trouble becomes insuperable. Here Bona-Meyer recommends a sort of general religious instruction that would be equally applicable to all faiths, declaring that he himself finds stimulus to religious reflection in the Protestant church, the Catholic cathedral, or the Jewish synagogue. But many others may not experience the same feeling, and so the learned author leaves the subject just where he found it —in doubt.

The German clergy express a great deal of satisfaction at the appearance of a "Church Directory for North America," and thank the author, Rev. John N. Luker, of Sunbury, Pa., for this work, which gives them some guide to the German work in this country. They propose using this book for the advice of many emigrants going to America without the least knowledge of its Church organizations, and not aware of the places where German churches and pastors may be found. They complain, however, that it is open to one very grave fault, namely, that it gives only the address of the members of the Lutheran Synod of this country, (and we suspect of only one wing of that Church.) The Germans desire also the names of the ministers of the Reformed German Church, many of whose members are now coming to this country, and who would feel more at home among those of their own Church; and we would suggest to them that it would be no harm to include the address of the large number of German Methodist ministers of this country.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A System of Christian Doctrine. By Dr. I. A. Dorner, Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A., Professor of Theology, Hackney College, London, and Rev. J. S. Banks, Professor of Theology, Wesleyan College, Leeds. Vol. 4. Translated by Professor Banks. 8vo, pp. 451. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price $3.

There is a massiness in the periods and paragraphs of Dorner that creates in the reader's mind the idea of a massiness in the man. His sentences are magisterial, as if deciding by original authority the absoluteness of the dogma. He gives sentence on every point in theology in the tone of a finality. And there is *power*, too, in the thought; great power when he is right; and when wrong, as we hold him often to be, he is powerfully wrong —a rail-car powerfully off the track.

The present, the final volume, deals with the atonement, with theodicy, and with eschatology. On the atonement he is vigorous; on theodicy he is self-contradictory; on the doctrine of retribution wavering through prolix chapters, and landing in timid but probable *post-mortem* probation. Dorner is a justly eminent, yet, we venture to think, overrated, theologian. The mature theologian, by all means, should read his most suggestive volumes, but with a wary discrimination.

What can be more fantastic than the following pronunciamiento, denying the resurrection of Christ, and substituting a

transmigration? "Christ cannot have again assumed and transformed his body in the resurrection, but it must be held that he utterly laid aside and left in the grave his material body in prospect of his heavenly life." Christ, then, must have had, at the moment of his emergence from the tomb, *two bodies*. What a "find" it would have been for the Jews could they have laid hands on the abandoned body! What became of it? It had no resurrection, and must have putrefied, and is now dispersed to the elements! "The mortal," then, did not "put on immortality." It disintegrated. The dead did not rise, for the spiritual body never was dead. The vile body was not *changed into* a glorious body; but the vile body went into deeper vileness, and a glorious body was, as Dorner says, "generated by Christ's ethical process"—if any body knows what that means. And then what a sharp deception Jesus played upon his disciples when he showed spurious wounds in his spiritual body to make them believe the falsehood that his present body was identical with his crucified body! The cheated apostles were permanently deceived, for they always maintained that Christ's crucified body came to life, and the fraud was perpetuated in the Apostles' Creed in the words, "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh." All this offensive blasphemy Dorner authenticates in order to evade the simple fact that Christ's real body might as truly rise into a glorious resurrection as it once rose into a glorious transfiguration on the Mount. For this denial of Christ's resurrection he gives no reason, scientific, theological, biblical, or metaphysical, but enunciates it as pure dictum.

Of the Church doctrine of the resurrection he, nevertheless, gives a true and fair statement. "Many teachers of the ancient Church, like Justin Martyr, Tertullian, suppose a complete identity of the resurrection body with the earthly one, inclusive of all the faults of the latter, which Christ will rectify at his second advent. A more spiritual theory is maintained, especially by Origen and his school, who even regards the present body as an evil and a hinderance to perfection. But since Augustine's day an intermediate view between the materialistic and spiritualistic has prevailed, and was taken over into the Evangelical Church. According to it the resurrection body has indeed an identity of *substance* with the earthly body, but not with the *form*. The latter will rather be a glorified one."

But, distorting the doctrine of the Church, Dorner substitutes a *germination* in the place of a general *resurrection*. His excuse

for this is the apostle's illustrating the resurrection by the case of the seed, which grows up not a "seed" again, but "grain." Plainly, however, the apostle is not there describing the secret underground process by which the resurrection is wrought. He does not mean that the body germinates like a seed in the grave. He is only arguing optically of what is seen above ground; that, as a humble seed buried springs up in renewed beauty, so the body buried springs up in strange glory. To make the apostle describe the subsoil process is to bring him into scientific error, for the seed does not literally "die." If, indeed, *new matter* is added to the resurrection body, as he seems to think, that new matter is certainly no *part* of the resurrection. For the resurrection is a resurrection of the *dead*, and that supplement was no part of the *dead* organism. As Chrysostom says, "That rose which fell," but the addendum neither fell nor rose. That re-lives which dies, but this foreign element never died, so far as this antithesis is concerned.

And here we may, by the way, note that the late Dr. Summers remarked that it is unnecessary to suppose in the resurrection the rising of the same corporeal substance; for the resurrection may be analogous to the new bodies that come into existence successively in the *growth* of our life. There are, it is sometimes said, several successive bodies in the life-history of every mature man. But such a statement is scientific error. There is not a succession of complete separate *bodies*, like a row of finished statues, in a man's career. Each successive corporeal mass is formed, not in distinct completeness, but by the gradual accretion of new particles into the old organism. The new body does not instantly expel the old, and rush into its place a new formation. But the resurrection change takes place in "the twinkling of an eye." And so, as the resurrection is not a substitution, nor a metempsychosis, nor a germination, neither is it a growth. It is a *resurrection, sui generis*, and nothing else. New to most of our readers is also Dorner's conception, enounced without proof-text or logical argument by pure dictum, that all dead corporeities are solved into a general reservoir, "like an ocean," and each soul at the resurrection appropriates from the common stock a *quantum sufficit* for itself.

Rightly against the early reformers, who were determined to expunge purgatory from theology at any cost, Dorner affirms an intermediate state. But in this zeal against purgatory, he thinks, they left themselves an indefensible severity of retribution. He,

therefore, casts about for a milder eschatology, especially for infants and heathen, who never heard the Gospel. He weighs annihilationism, restorationism, and eternal misery in scales, and finally decides in favor of a *post mortem* probation. That decision does not seem intended, however, to favor the impenitent sinner under the light of the Gospel. His list of authors quoted on the subject suggests the existence of a variety of opinions maintained in German theology, and evinces the extensiveness of his reading on the subject. We are not, however, struck with the conclusiveness of his logic. Our admiration for Dorner, as a whole, is somewhat qualified, and we cannot recommend his theology to any but a very discriminating study.

Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, including the Papers Read, and Abstract of Proceedings for June and December, 1881. The Society prints the papers read in full, but is not responsible for any opinions expressed therein. Middletown, Conn.: Pelton & King. 1882.

"The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis" was formed in June, 1881, and consists of a body of eminent biblical scholars associated for the purpose of furnishing free and frank discussion under the form of exegetical documents in the department of sacred scholarship. Among the eminent names are Professors Abbott, of Harvard; Bartlett, of Dartmouth; Curtiss, of Chicago; Merrill and Thayer, of Andover; Prentice, of Middletown; Buttz and Strong, of Drew; Timothy Dwight, of Yale; and Dr. Ward, of the "Independent." Such a body of scholars can do much for biblical criticism, and we would hope that their "Journal" may receive a handsome support, enabling it to assume a handsomer appearance externally than we have in this first specimen.

From Professor Abbott we have some able exegetical articles on texts hitherto involved in the Unitarian controversy. On the reverse side one by Professor Dwight.

The article by Professor Goodwin on the words *soul* and *spirit* in the Bible, hardly does justice to the views of the trinalists (we abhor the butcherly word trichotomists) upon the nature of man. (1) In the first place, no higher being than man, as God, angel, demon, is ever called a *soul*, but a *spirit*. In the nine places quoted by Dr. Goodwin of its use in regard to God, a soul is indeed anthropopathically attributed to God, but he is in no place called a *soul*. So also a *heart*, an eye, a hand, is attributed to God. "With my whole *heart* and with my whole *soul*," says

God, (Lev. xxvi, 11.) We thus learn that man has a higher nature, ranking him with the higher beings, as well as a lower nature, ranking him with the brutes. (2) This distinction manifests itself, as Professor Goodwin admits, in our higher and lower faculties; but these faculties are, of course, a manifestation of their substratum. The higher and lower belong to their nature-bases. (3) As to the separability of these basal natures, we may surmise, *a.* That they have a twofold origin, one coming from God circuitously through nature causations, and the other directly from the divine, (Gen. ii, 7 ;) *b.* That as in a bird evolutionally derived (truly or theoretically) from a serpent, a higher mind is superimposed upon a lower, so the spirit may be superimposed upon the animal soul ; *c.* That, nevertheless, the two are not like a chemical mixture permanently two, but like a chemical union identified into one being ; and yet, *d.* In our transition to our higher state a large share of our brute nature, nervous and appetitive, will be eliminated, (1 Cor. vi, 13,) and the glorified unit, reuniting with the glorified body, will so regenerate it as to render it a *spiritual* body instead of a *soulical* body. (4) Trinalists do not claim to hold a modern "discovery" in all this, for theirs is an old Church doctrine. But as the discussions with materialism and evolutionism advance, the doctrine is applicable to the solution of an increasing number of adverse arguments.

The article on the "Babylonian Element in Ezekiel," by Professor Toy, of Harvard, is one of the latest efforts of the Munchausen school of biblical pseudo-criticism. Professor Toy tells us that Ezekiel contains no terrible prophecies against Babylon; which simply shows that the prophet uttered no treason against the government under which he lived; but it justifies none of the professor's inferences that he plagiarized the Babylonian myths and rituals, and interpolated them into the Old Testament canon. Thus the self-complacent professor tells us that the garden of Eden (and consequently the narrative of the fall of man) is borrowed from Babylon during the Captivity! It is, therefore, we are left to infer, a pagan myth, and, as claiming to be a primeval Mosaic document, is a forgery! The importation of this fundamental document from Chaldea by Abraham we can easily believe, as confirmed by George Smith's Assyrian researches; and then we have, perhaps, through the Abrahamic pedigree, the most ancient record of the world. Mr. Toy gives no argument for making it a modern plagiary by Ezekiel which is not founded on the most neological assumption. The second Isaiah

he dates at about 540 years before Christ, and Joel is after the Captivity. There is no Leviticus before the Captivity, and Deuteronomy comes a little before Josiah's time. The Mosaic ritual was originated by Ezekiel in Babylon, and, with much of its accompanying history fabricated by Ezra and his compeers, as the original Mosaic institute which Jehovah had laid down for Israel under Moses. All these myths and dishonesties Professor Toy smoothens over with a few sanctimonious phrases, very much of a piece with the moralities he attributes to Ezra. The Law of Moses, so revered by Israel in Christ's time, and so reverently named by Christ himself, was mostly a spurious fabrication of a far later age than Moses.

To much of these juvenile flippancies a calm and scholarly reply is virtually furnished by Professor Gardiner in the last article of this publication. The preposterous crotchet that Ezekiel furnishes the programme for the forged Leviticus is quietly and conclusively exposed. Ezekiel's scheme is foreign to that of Leviticus. It is a scheme above the level of nature, and is, in fact, an ideal—an Apocalypse. To make Leviticus a copy after Ezekiel is about as sensible as to say that our "Methodist Book Concern" is modeled after the "Bible House."

The Revelation of the Risen Lord. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT. Macmillan & Co.

In this work Canon Westcott seeks to determine the significance of the several appearances of Christ between the resurrection and the ascension. Considered as history the record of these appearances is very fragmentary; but considered as a revelation they are full of significance. "That which is incomplete as a history is complete as a Gospel." The manifestations of the risen Christ, according to the author, fall into two groups—those of the first Easter day, and those of the days which followed. The appearances on Easter day were mainly directed to the creation of an immediate present belief; those which took place afterward to the establishment of a belief in Christ's future and abiding presence. The author throughout assumes the fact of the resurrection, and seeks only to interpret its significance. That one who was dead should live again, as in the case of Lazarus, would have no eternal significance. The resurrection must mean the present union of Christ with his disciples, and it must prophesy eternal life for them. To produce this faith and conviction in the minds of the apostles, and, through them, in the minds of the faithful every-where, was the aim of the manifestations of Christ after

his resurrection. Hence, the title of the work, "The Revelation of the Risen Lord." The author finds in the nature of the appearances a guarantee of their reality. He well says, "The abrupt cessation of the appearances of Christ is intelligible if they were granted for the specific end of producing the faith which they did produce; it is not intelligible if they were the product of enthusiasm."

Christian Growth. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D. 24mo, pp. 120. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1882.

Dr. Fitzgerald is editor of the Nashville "Christian Advocate," and has approved himself as an able thinker and writer. The present little volume is a fine miniature manual, especially for the young Christian. It is written in a very attractive style and in the true evangelical spirit. It traces the progress of individual Christian history, beginning with the "new birth," touching on the successive stages of Christian advancement, until the attainment of the perfected Christian life. It is a beautiful guide for the pilgrim's progress in the Christian path.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. A Critical Exposition. By GEORGE P. MORRIS, Ph.D., Professor of Ethics, History of Philosophy, and Logic in the University of Michigan, etc. Small 12mo, pp. 272. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1882.

A brilliant young school of Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy seems to have lately sprung up in our West. Although a transplant from Germany, it seems to have found a congenial soil and shoots up a vigorous growth. The nice little volume before us announces accordingly that Professor Morris, of the Michigan University, is to edit a series of "Philosophical Classics," to be published by Griggs of Chicago. Besides this specimen of Kant made easy, we are to have, from President Porter, Kant's Ethics, a noble work and decidedly easier than the Critique; Kant's Critique of Judgment, by Professor Adamson; Schelling, by Professor Watson; Hegel's Logic, by Dr. W. T. Harris; and his Esthetics, by Professor J. S. Kidney. However we may dissent from these authors, we welcome this series of expositions. Perhaps we shall better agree with them when we better understand them. At any rate we welcome them as a range of high thought, an alterative, a diversion, and a relief from the malodor-

ous "dirt philosophy" reeking up from the Darwinian swamp Says Virchow, "The scent of monkey taints the air," and since the entombment of the great Simiades we are all required not only to smell monkey, but to accept monkey as our "heredity." So we are eager to change the subject, and to talk Kantian and Schellingian metaphysics. But before beginning to talk about them extensively and profoundly, it might, perhaps, be well enough for all to know just a little what they are; and so we thank Professor Morris, Mr. Griggs, and their learned train of contributors for giving us all a chance.

Professor Morris performs the part of both an expositor and a critic. He aims not only to bring the uncouth German into the acquaintance and sympathy of our American mind, but to add the results of later thought, in order to correct and adjust the philosophy he taught. Thus, with Kant he agrees that space has a dependent existence; it is mind-created; so that if there were no mind there would be no space. But he denies to Kant that, therefore, space is purely "subjective." Somehow he believes that subject and object possess an "organic oneness." They are both one as merged in "the universal Spirit," namely, the absolute, and the "absolute can only be conceived as spirit." Thus he advocates the "spiritualistic conception of the absolute reality." Substance, and we suppose space, is only "phenomenal," and phenomena are the unreal shell of the noumenal; and the noumenal of all phenomena is the great universal spirit; so that the cosmos seems to be spirit clothed in unreal substance. This may not be pantheism.

A great fault of the transcendental class of writers is that they are apt to run into a high strain of euphonious but not very lucid rhetoric. Hobbes, Locke, and John Stuart Mill aim at a clear, manly simplicity and lucidity of style. Coleridge, Cousin, and Dr. Hickok, are decidedly highflown. To the complaint made of a magniloquent lecturer at a late philosophical convention, that he was too high to be intelligible, the reply was made that philosophy, like every other system, must have its technical nomenclature. And that is true. But it is bad for a school of thinkers when its expositors seem to aim at a showy display of technical forms of esoteric phraseology. We are not sure that there is not a perceptible degree of falsetto in the style of Professor Morris.

We all know that Kant assumed the task of putting to the test the universal negations of Hume; negations of every thing but

what he called sensible "impressions," and so negations of the existence of an external world of the supernatural of God and immortality. The Scotch school had, in a method of modest analytic "common sense," gone over the ground and maintained a successful contest, but something more bold and structural seemed to be demanded by the public mind. Kant's Critique appeared, and its very iron Tolbooth character seemed to give it an "architectonic" strength. It was no direct answer to Hume, but the erection of an opposing fortress. It was not so very much of an opposition either; for Kant conceded to Hume that in the field of intellectual speculation no supersensible truth or being could be proved. He resorted to man's "Practical Reason," just as the Scotch philosophers did to "common sense," and with a still more unhappy selection of the term. And Practical Reason could furnish no more than a "Belief in God, immortality, and soul." Yet in the Practical Reason he included the ethical nature of man, and legitimated it as being a part of man's structural being, and so a valid authority for man. But while thus finding himself, as a true moral being, entitled to firm faith in these three great realities, he never affirmed the truth of Christianity, never passed beyond ethical Theism. In his "Religion within the Bounds of Reason," he took the ground of coldest Rationalism. The atoning crucifixion was a popular story, miracles were works of imagination, and conviction of sin, repentance, and justification by the Gospel were to him a self-magnetism which he professed himself unable to understand. Still his philosophy was a framework into which Christianity could be installed much more easily than in the dark confines of sensationalism, and the negative benefit was attained of a check upon the predominance of Hume.

After Kant the story of German philosophy ends to the general mind of the world. His successors, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, are to the English-American view but *umbrae nominum*, shadowy names. "The secret of Hegel" is at present about as much of a secret as ever. See now if our western "classics" will make the jewel leap out of its casket, and radiate a luster so clear as to illuminate and not so very dazzling as to blind us.

We are reminded by Professor Morris' exposition of Kant how much we do not believe in him. Take but a single point. A philosophy like his and Lotze's, that denies the reality of *space*, a reality that is, which is valid, whether there exists mind or not, does to our view lie in a hopeless *reductio ad absurdum*.

We hold that any philosophy that abuts against the objective reality of space is at once demolished. Kant and Lotze hold space to be created by mind; and Kant maintains that it is simply a mind-formed *condition* of sensible objects. "We cannot," he says, "perceive or conceive an object but in space." What authority, then, have we for believing the reality of the object any more than the reality of space? They are both equally authenticated by the same affirming mind. We do *see* space. I see the space around my table just as clearly and certainly as I see the table itself. I see the space in an empty pail just as truly as I see the water that anon fills it. And so far as my perceptions are concerned, space is as genuine an object of perception as the water or the pail. And yet you recognize that the space in the empty pail is vacuity, a pure absence of positive existence, a room for occupancy. That visible, *real*, actual emptiness—perhaps a painful *reality*—you call indifferently *space* or *nothing*. So that space=nothing. In the pail you see a circular nothing six inches in diameter and one foot deep. It is a spacial cylinder, just as real as any iron cylinder. And so space=nonentity=vacuity=nothing is extended, measured, and shaped, just as truly as matter. But it is not movable and literally divisible like matter. Annihilate the pail and you at once see that the division and limitation were imaginary. Matter may be cut in two and the parts removed, but not space. Matter may be viewed as transient, vanishing, and non-existent, but not space. Matter we may view as created and then annihilated, but space is uncreable and unannihilable. For how can nothing be created? How can extended vacuity, absence of all positive existence, be generated, destroyed, or dependent for its reality on any thing finite or infinite? John Stuart Mill defines matter as "the permanent possibility of a sensation." We might define space as *the permanent possibility of an occupancy*. We know that it is limitless; for, assume any limit, and space is beyond it. And so immensity of space and eternity of time are among the most primitive, indestructible and certain of all thoughts. And when we see our stalwart philosophers so bravely take immensity of space and twist and tie it into a knot, as a western hunter crumples a piece of brown paper into a wad; and when they thrust immensity of space into their twistified theories, as the hunter rams the wad into his musket, we are overwhelmed with admiration at the dexterity of their manipulations.

And what shall be said of Kant's famous battle of the Antin-

omies? In order to show that, when we get up into the supersensible regions, we are involved in contradictions that warn us down, he takes four sets of supersensible propositions and opposes them like contradictory batteries against each other. It is the battle between the phenomena and the noumena, in which they with great precision annihilate each other, and thereby settle their feud. His first antinomy seems to be based on the ambiguity of a term. If there be a word in language expressive of a transcendent reality, in which all mind agrees, it is ETERNITY. Yet this word, we are instructed, contradicts itself. There is an eternity of the past which has terminus at the present moment; so that we have an Infinite chopped off at one end! Then there is a future Eternity; so that we have an Infinite clipped at the other end! And when both are tied together we have an absolute Infinity. Now, if we will not be governed and cheated by words, we may see that there is here no contradiction in the conception. A geometrician finds it perfectly legitimate to say, "Let this line A B be produced from B to infinity;" that is, without a further end. And that is a perfectly legitimate conception—a line with a beginning and no ending. And in our thinking of that line two valid conceptions arise. We may either think the line ever approaching yet never reaching infinity, in which the element of time and motion is blended with linear form; or we may view the line as now infinitely complete, an endless line. And so man's immortality embraces the conception of a commencement and continuance without end. We speak of a monument to be raised and to stand forever. Men have generally believed in a creation never to be annihilated. So, also, there may be conceived a line with no beginning, yet an end. Applied to time, we might call one præ-eternity and the other post-eternity, and both valid conceptions. And then, if we call the *whole* Eternity, we may see that there are three harmonious valid conceptions distinguished by their three names, and all without contradiction. The other Antinomies of Kant are, we think, no more valid.

Illusions: A Psychological Study. By JAMES SULLY, author of "Sensation and Intuition," "Pessimism," etc. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Sully has produced several philosophical works of no great note. He is, we believe, at the present time a member of the agnostic school of thinkers. The present work is written in a clear style, and furnishes many a valuable suggestion for prac-

tical life. His term, "illusions," extends to nearly all the mistakes of sensation, perception, introspection, and insight that men are liable to commit. The department of apparitions, ghosts, second-sight, clairvoyance, etc., is mostly omitted. He is copious on the subject of dreams, but we do not see that he furnishes much in advance of the treatment of Macnish and Abercrombie thirty or forty years ago.

In regard to dreams, indeed, we opine that they are best explained from the standpoint of the Will. Mr. Sully represents Dugald Stewart as maintaining that volition ceases in our dreams; but we scarce think that he represents Stewart accurately. Every one knows that we have plenty of volitions, dream-volitions, within the train of our dreams. What Stewart would truly say is, that the will loses its power over the corporeal system during sleep; or, more correctly, the system loses its power to obey the will, and so the will is pretty much powerless. The will is not like a general whose army has rebelled and flung off his authority, or whose power of command is paralyzed, so much as like a general whose army is demoralized and incapable of obeying. During the day the system has been throwing off its energies in action, and has become exhausted. Synchronically, night withdraws the stimulus of light, so that there is a time-keeping between man and the diurnal revolutions of the earth. With man the animal creation accordantly sleeps, and even the vegetable slumbers. And this reminds us of great Jonathan Edwards' profoundly witty definition of "nothing" as being "that of which the *sleeping rocks do dream.*" As we lay ourselves to our night's repose, the wearied system demands release from the tyrant Will, and consequently all its tension is relaxed. The moment that the will surrenders is the moment of commenced sleep. Simultaneously, the volitional impulse being withdrawn, the five senses cease their action. The higher intellect in the front brain, unpressed by will, loses its discriminating energy, and submits without judgment often to the most absurd impositions. Meantime our sensuous thoughts, our images of mental revery, in the absence of discriminating power, become realities. The Berkeleyan philosophy becomes true in dream-world: our thoughts are things. And sometimes they become exciting, and our dreams are vivid and disturbing. For we believe that we do not always dream; and that our sleep is imperfect and less recuperating when it is not dreamless, for even our conceptive faculties need repose. The non-volitional

functions of our interior system, meanwhile, the respiration, the pulsation, the circulation, the digestion, all go on freely, yet quietly, availing themselves of the period of repose to reproduce their expended energies. About midnight the accumulation of new strength has commenced. By morning the forces become rampant, and under stimulus of returning light demand of General Will to lead them into action.

After keeping his readers, through extended chapters, in the region of "illusion," Mr. Sully, wisely fearing lest they should become a little dizzy, and fancy that all is illusion, and that we are all crazy, brings them back to a central *reality*. It is, indeed, true that we are all a little touched, and do now and then hallucinate. But we do this each individually and variantly from the consensus of the totality of minds, of which each individual is a part. By the unanimity of the whole the eccentricity of the individual is corrected, though each individual has in turn to have his specialty neutralized. And this consensus is sound and right, being in possession of *reality*. Mr. Sully gives no man leave to go crazy over his book.

He endeavors to keep the discussion of illusion within the limits of science, though aware that he is ever near the boundary line of metaphysic or "philosophy." The scientific questions are comparatively easily settled; he has only to come back to the decision of the "consensus," which is a very good pope. But there is a very dangerous outlet into philosophy by which all may be swamped. Suppose philosopher comes along and says, "Mr. Scientist, is not the existence of the external world one of the 'illusions' of men, and is your subject exhausted before you have settled that question?" Mr. Sully acknowledges such to be the fact, and modestly confesses he omits that discussion as a great deal too large, not for his subject, but for his capacity, it being a question for ages. We do not agree with him. No reasoning that challenges the reality of the perception of the external world is as valid as the perception itself. The duality of mind and matter, of time and space, are realities stronger than any arguments that can be arrayed against them. We feel mind and we see matter; we feel time and we see space; and any reasonings against their existence are refuted because they contradict primitive certainties. We are wholly undisturbed, therefore, by the fluctuations of Mr. Sully on the sea of evolutionism. We do not for one moment feel puzzled by John Stuart Mills' resolving causation into *association*, substance into "the *permanent*

possibility of a sensation," or the soul into a *series of cogitations.* These are simply the antics of a fancy mimic-philosophy, bearing the same relation to a true philosophy that a chimpanzee does to a man. We say this in full realization that these intellectual gymnastics display no little power; that they possess, like other gymnastics, some degree of fascination; and afford some training for the intellect of the gymnast. Nevertheless, they are nothing but lofty conundrums; they afford no valid or saving truth.

Christian Ethics. (Individual.) By Dr. H. MARTENSEN. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This volume was preceded by a general treatise on ethical principles from a Christian stand-point, and is to be followed by another on social ethics. The present volume brings the application of ethical principles to bear upon practical conduct, often in a decidedly explicit and pungent way. It furnishes many a hint for the guide of life, and the preacher may find in it not a few suggestions of the mode of rendering moral science suggestive in a popular way.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of the First Forty Years of his Life. 1795–1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two volumes in one. 12mo, pp. 252, 297. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Of course the pen of Mr. Froude can make any subject readable, and with so unique a topic as Carlyle and his contemporaries, eminently readable. But he cannot make of his subject a philosopher, a religionist, nor a true teacher or inspirer of men. He was simply a great vociferator, flinging up now and then strains of grand vociferation, startling from its rugged beauty or extravagance, but nine times in ten mere racket and furor that fools admire, first from their strangeness, and latterly from mere habit. Taken altogether, the annihilation of all he did, and the obliteration from the world's memory of all that he was, would be no loss.

Educational.

The Semi-Monthly Fonetic Teacher. Organ of Spelling Reform. St. Louis, 1882. 8vo. Eight pages per number. $1 per annum. T. R. Vickroy, Editor and Publisher.

We are in receipt of this periodical; and as we have for many years been in sympathy with every effort for the mitigation and abolition of our English spelling curse, we heartily recommend it to the patronage and perusal of every inquirer after the "true and good." More than thirty years ago we published, in the "Ladies' Repository," edited by Dr. Davis W. Clark, and in the "National Magazine," edited by Dr. Stevens, some earnest essays on the subject. There were then a few zealous laborers for the movement, but a general silence on the subject, unbroken except by expressions of self-stultifying ridicule and even bitterness. We have passed through several reforms, but in none have we seen more unequivocal self-exposures of conceited ignorance on the part of opponents. The late Professor Haldeman was the only man of general eminence we can recall who then bravely advocated the cause. Other occupancies have since crowded out this subject from our interest; but occasionally opening and rubbing our eyes to take in the situation, we are greatly gratified to measure the progress of the movement, and to note the names of eminent men who have taken it in hand. Of the great beneficence of the end designed, and the surety of its accomplishment, we have not the slightest doubt. The ideal of a perfect orthography consists mostly in *an unequivocal alphabet.* By it a given series of letters should spell only one possible sound, and be pronounceable in only one possible way; and, conversely, no word or sound could be spelled in any other than one possible way. There could then be no rational mistake. *It would take but a few weeks or months to learn the complete spelling of a whole language.* Based initially on *memory*, the process of learning would soon be guided by *principle;* and according to the exact following of principle would be the ease of learning, the accuracy of the result, and the intellectual and moral disciplinary effect of the whole process. Spelling would cease to be a terrible spasm of hard memory through myriads of capricious details, requiring drill upon every word; it would become an exact science. If this could not be attained with absolute perfection, it could be so approximated as to attain an invaluable result.

The ease of learning would reduce a vast amount of mental

labor and pain for childhood. It would be the emancipation of the child-slave from the most terrible part of the whole educational process. It would fling off a large part of the school-room nightmare that now renders truancy venial, and open a cheery way and a livelier interest for all other parts of learning. The labor and pain of spelling, as we shall soon show, is expended in acquiring falsehood and demoralization. Then there would be an immense diminution of the expense of elementary education. Spelling, reading, and writing would require much less of time and labor, and consequently of pecuniary expenditure. There would be an annual saving of millions in the cost of public education. The work of spreading popular education, for instance, through the South among our negroes, and among our foreign population, would be expedited and cheapened. Our national masses would become more intelligent, and the dangers to our free institutions, arising from ignorance and degradation, would be lessened.

Did the English language possess a simple and correct orthography, it would stand a fair chance for becoming the predominant language of the world. Its structure is simple from the absence of elaborate declensions; its verb is structurally simple; its syntax is simple. But the foreigner finds its orthography so complex and capricious that he is obliged to learn the spelling of each word by itself—an endless task. Now English and American conquest, diffusion, and commerce, are spreading over the world with an unparalleled rapidity. Give our language as simple an orthography as it has a syntax, and its great obstacle is removed. It would become, in all probability, the circulating medium of the speaking world.

We have spoken of the demoralizing character of our orthography. The more our readers study that point, we think, the more the stupendous untruth our orthography embodies will become evident. Truth is the agreement of the representation with the fact: but so immense is the disagreement of our letter combinations with the word said to be "spelled," that the whole teaching is a drill in conventional error in the place of absolute accuracy. It is an undisciplining process, an inculcation of disorder and incongruity, requiring the wholesale acceptance of falsehood for truth, thereby perverting and disorganizing the mind.

One sunny day in our school-boy years we were watching a fellow pupil standing up at his spelling lesson. He was a cheery boy, and he first read his lesson audibly to the master in a high

key. The reading finished, the master took the book to "put out" the words for spelling. "Spell geese," said the master. In high tone the boy began, "*Ghe*," (our spelling of hard g.) "Ghe," echoed the master, "what kind of a letter is *ghe*?" Whereat the surrounding urchins felt authorized to snicker at him as a dunce for telling the truth and not a falsity. For *ghe* is the true first element of the three of which the word *geese* as pronounced is composed. But the boy was forthwith duly inducted into falsehood by being told by his master that the first letter is *je;* and so the entire elements of the word are *je ee se*, which, as near as any thing, spells *jēsē*. The three elements of this word *geese* phonography (which is a very perfect orthography) presents thus, —·); and as thus presented, phonographically, the letters can spell no other sound; the sound can be spelled in no other way. Phonography is thus, proximately at least, a perfect orthography. If, as some say, phonography is a failure, it is not in the unequivocality of its alphabet and spelling, but in its reporting rapidity. The elements being well mastered, there can be no mistake, ambiguity, or variation. The instantaneous utterance of the elements (as in phonography) is the pronunciation of the total word. The mastery of the elements, and of the spelling principle, is a mastery of the whole art of the perfect spelling of the entire language, and is a work for a good mind of but a few months. And this is precisely what should be.

The modifications proposed by the united American and English Philological Associations, and the Spelling Reform Association, are a great improvement in their way if they could be universally adopted. They would remove a large mass of difficulties both for the child and the foreigner. For the present, as being made to our hand, they would be a gain. But we want a *reconstructed alphabet;* and it may be that examination would show that a well-reconstructed alphabet has already been brought into existence. Such an alphabet should, *first*, be a fair approximation to complete unequivocality; it should, *second*, be as little as possible disagreeable to the eye; and it should, *third*, be as little changed as possible from the present typography; so that a few hours' familiarity would render it as easy reading as the old style, and the transition from old to new be facile and pleasant. This would leave the availability and value of our old libraries undiminished; for, with very slight effort, any reader might be easily familiar with both styles, though he might never be, and never need to be, adept in the old style; for few at the present

day are complete masters of English orthography beyond liability to numerous mistakes. Probably not a man living could accurately spell the entire of his own language.

But it is objected these associations have no authority. Nor had Rowland Hill, we reply, any authority for pushing the cheap postage reform; nor the antislavery societies any authority for agitating for slavery reform; nor John Wesley any authority for projecting religious reform. Most great reform movements commence without authority. Rather, their first authority consists in the truth and excellence of their movement; and these in time, after being ridiculed and objected to, compel organic authority into submission and execution. Not long since a member of Congress moved initial legislative action upon the subject, and was saluted with a general burst of laughter. This exemplified the grave old Roman maxim, *Risu inepto nihil ineptius;* which, for the needs of such Congressman, we translate, "Than a silly laugh nothing is more silly." These merry gentlemen never dreamed that this pedantic movement had any relation to the diminishing of public expense and the spread of public intelligence. When an unequivocal orthography, as little as practicable severed from the old literature, is once attained by our associate scholarship, Congress should at once order its national documents to be printed in that style. Then the periodical press, and finally the great book publishers, could wisely follow. The next generation would reap an advantage which would never be lost.

We are indeed told that pronunciation so constantly varies that the work would soon have to be done over again. We reply, that the absurdities of our orthography promote variations. Let an exact orthography be adopted, and a wise intolerance of vagaries could easily be cultivated that would give our language a new stability and oneness. The spread of ability to read would tend to eliminate sectional peculiarities. And if in two or three centuries the work needs to be done over again, let it be done. The revisers would have an easier task than the late revisers of our English Bible.

Periodicals.

The Methodist Advocate. Atlanta. E. Q. FULLER, D.D., Editor.

Our Atlanta Advocate, under the able, honest, and indefatigable editor, Dr. Fuller, still lives and does its noble work. But it lives amid difficulties. Its main difficulty seems to arise from the fact that too many of its subscribing "patrons" consider *subscribing* to be *patronage* enough without also *paying*. They subscribe liberally, but the fee is too generally omitted. This largely arises, we suppose, from the original semi-charitable character of the paper, established as it was in a day of the poverty of its constituency. But benefaction becomes enervating and demoralizing when the beneficiary begins to expect that the benefaction is an established income. The last General Conference, by a wise vote, conditioned its continuance on an adequate support from the pockets of its subscribers. That vote declared that the day of poverty had so far passed, that if the constituency would not pay for the paper, it did not deserve to receive it.

The paying policy has been adopted, and yet fifteen hundred dollars is reported to be needed in order to continue the paper until the next General Conference. We believe that private liberality ought to furnish that deficit, and the paper be launched into another quadrennium under the same probation.

We have not counted the votes, but we believe that if every member who voted for the present probation would contribute ten dollars, the present remainder of the deficit would be more than met. But we would suggest another mode additional to such gratuities. The Advocate is ably and truthfully edited. It tells square truths that are a means of grace in that section until that section itself comes to utter freely and fully those same truths. We always read it, and generally with admiration for the fearless outspokenness of its editor. And we say to all our readers, and to all Northern men, if you wish to receive a true intelligence from the South, if you wish for every means of truly knowing the South, buy and read this Advocate as one of the invaluable items for that purpose.

INDEX.

Abbott's Young Christian ..... Page 583
Adams: Manual of Historical Literature. 598
Allen, Dr. William H. 611
Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der Heilligen Schrift, Nagler 199
Am. Cath. Quar. Review 134, 338, 531, 758
American Antiquarian and Or. Journal.. 748
American Ess. of Christian Philosophy .. 135
American Reviews 133, 338, 532, 748
Antislavery. 391
Autobiography of Rev. Luther Lee..... 595
Archæology, Biblical..... 553
Art, Nudity in..... 528
Arthur: Proceedings of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference..... 396
Aryo-Semitic Speech, M'Cardy..... 178
Ashmire Road, The..... 555
Assyriology..... 774
Atlantis: Donnelly..... 387
Austria and the Jewish Question 562

Babylonian Element in Ezekiel..... 782
Baptist Review..... 133, 338, 523, 748
Barbour: Florida for Tourists, etc..... 188
Bartels: Contributions to the History of Pietism..... 350
Beecher, Henry Ward..... 719
Benevolences, our Church, Problem of... 45
Bentley, Richard Jebb 596
Bible..... 26, 107, 372, 377
Bible, Preach the..... 148, 149
Biblical Archæology..... 553
Bibliotheca Sacra..... 133, 343, 755
Bishop: Mormonism Unveiled..... 265
Bode: Hanoverian Hymn-book 151
Boegner on French Protestants, etc..... 708
Bost, Pastor..... 361
Bourne, George, the Pioneer of American Antislavery..... 68
His ancestry and birthplace..... 71
His intrepidity in opposing slavery.. 73
An extraordinary busy life..... 85
Disposition and personal appearance 88
His plan for immediate and unconditional emancipation 89
Bowne, Borden P.: Metaphysics 391
Brit. and For. Evang. Rev...137, 345, 541, 760
British Quarterly Review..... 345, 547, 760
Bronson, A.: Key to the Apocalypse..... 164
Brooks: Canticle of the Lord..... 170
Browning: He Giveth his Beloved Sleep. 291
Brosch's History of Papal State..... 776
Bruce: Humiliation of Christ..... 170
Brunton: The Bible and Science 176
Burn-Gerdt's Spiritual sanction for Wine... 117
Burr: Commentary on Job..... 169

Caldwell, Merritt 611
Carroll: America and Lutherans..... 427
Carter: The Great Convent of San Francisco in Mexico City..... 524
Cath. and Prot. Church Attendance..... 758
Catholic Church..... 574
Charakter-Bilder aus der Geschichte des Methodismus, Kopp..... 199
Christ's Appearances..... 783
Christ, Humiliation of, Bruce..... 170
Christian Experience, Aspects of..... 374
Christian Faith, Lectures in Defense of 202
Christian Philosophy Quarterly...135, 531, 748
Christian Quarterly Review..... Page 338, 533
Christian Socialism..... 561
Church Attendance, Prot. and Catholic.. 758
Church, Christian..... 150
Church Benevolences, The Problem of... 45
Church benevolences feebly sustained 45
An effective remedy suggested..... 56
Summary..... 66
Change of method necessary 67
Church and State, Separation of 335, 340
Church: Money-making for Ladies 602
Civil War, Our: British Quarterly and Cobden on..... 345
Cobb on the Unity of Isaiah..... 756
Cobden, Richard..... 345
Commentary on the Old Testament..... 169
Comte, Auguste 624
Convent, Great, of San Francisco, Mexico City..... 524
Its founders and history..... 524
Children as missionaries..... 526
Description of..... 529
Its suppression and later uses 539
Conway's Wandering Jew..... 489
Creation, Order, Adaptation..... 377, 389
Criminals in Paris..... 557
Crosby's Calm View of Temp. Question... 117
Cumberland Presb. Quarterly Review.... 533
Cummins: Grammar of the Old Friesic Language..... 179
Cuneiform Literature..... 774
Cunningham: The Works of Oliver Goldsmith..... 201
Curchod, Susanna..... 705
Curtiss on Old Testament Criticism..... 735
Cuyler: From the Nile to Norway..... 184

Dabney on Religious State of Germany.. 760
Dartigne: A Vision of St. Paul..... 352
Darwinism, What is, Hodge..... 586
Delitzsch..... 392
Delitzsch: Site of Paradise..... 158
Delitzsch on the Pentateuch 735
De Puy: People's Cyclopedia of Universal Knowledge..... 402
De Staël, Madame..... 705
Domestic and social life..... 712
Prominence in French Revolution... 718
Her literary works..... 724
Doherty: The Wandering Jew and his Conquerors..... 489
Dorner's Christian Doctrine..... 778
Dorner: System of Christian Doctrine... 167
Drink Question, Cuyler..... 187
Duff on Old Testament Criticism..... 737
Dunallie: Land of the Midnight Sun... 192
Dykes' Sermons..... 582

Earthquakes, Biblical Theory of 151
Ecclesiastes, Commentary on, Hyde..... 169
Eden, Garden of, a Myth 158
Edinburgh Review..... 137, 760
Edmunds: Petersburg, Virginia, and its Negro Population..... 320
Educators, French..... 565
Breal's Pedagogical Excursions..... 565
French periodicals and novels 566
Effort to suppress obscene literature. 566
Egypt, Ancient, Art in 250
England, Anglo-Saxon..... 503

English Reviews.....Page 137, 345, 541, 760
Enoch, Book of, Schodde..... 581
Ethics, Stoic and Rationalistic, Jackson.. 391
Evolution, What is..... 586
Evolution, Doctrine of..... 380, 381

Field: Was Jesus a Wine-Bibber?..... 117
Field: The Wines of the Bible..... 84
Field: Jesus a Total Abstainer..... 470, 659
Fisher's Christian Religion..... 344
Fisk, Rev. Wilbur, D.D..... 202
Fitzgerald's Christian Growth..... 784
Florida, its People and its Productions.. 635
Its extent and climate..... 635
Politics..... 640
Internal improvements..... 642
Productions..... 646
Foreign Literary Intelligence..158, 358, 565, 774
Foreign Relig. Intelligence..115, 355, 561, 770
Fowler: Locke..... 389
Fox, Charles James, Early History of, Trevelyan..... 195
Fox, Charles James..... 682
His early life..... 682
His political life..... 685
His views on American Revolution.. 694
Leader of the Whigs..... 695
Neglect of Christianity..... 700
France, Evangelization of, Dartigne..352, 558
Free Churches..... 355
French Evangelization..... 771
French Protestant Publisher..... 201
French Reviews..... 152, 352, 557, 767
Frisic Language, Cumonius..... 179
Froude's Thomas Carlyle..... 791

Garrison, William Lloyd: Letter to Theo. Bourne..... 70
Genesis, Documentary Origin of..... 28
Divisions of Genesis..... 29
Composite theory considered..... 32
The history homogeneous and symmetrical..... 35
German Literature..... 556
German Philosophy..... 784
German Rationalism..... 756, 757, 760
George: The Methodist Ecumenical Conference..... 91
Germany: Home Mission Work in..... 561
German Reviews..... 148, 348, 553, 766
Gibson: The Mosaic Era..... 200
Godet: Lectures—Christian Faith..... 202
Goldsmith, Oliver, Works of..... 201
Goodwin on the Soul and Spirit..... 782
Gordy: Professor Bowne's Metaphysics. 727
Gospels, Thoughts on the Holy. Francis W. Upham..... 102
Green: John Wesley..... 202
Green: The Making of England..... 593
Grundemann: Kleine Missions—Bibliothek Minor Missionary Library..... 358
Grimm: Theological Encyclopedia..... 150

Haley: Hereafter of Sin, The..... 370
Hanson: Utah and the Mormon Problem 205
Harman: Weber's System of Theology of the Old Synagogue of Palestine..... 5
Harnack on Monasticism..... 199
Harper's Weekly Journal, Weekly Bazar. 201
Harper's Young People..... 201
Heathen World: Religious Character and Destiny of..... 21
Heavenly World..... 281
Hebrew Manuscripts: Kennicott's Collation of..... 107
The author's call to the work..... 108
Extent of the work..... 110
Its great success..... 115
Hereditary Depravity..... 368
Herzog's Real Encyclopedia..... 567
Herzog's Church History..... 568
Hibbard's Commentary on Psalms..Page 378
Historical Literature, Manual of: Adams 568
Hodge: What is Darwinism?..... 586
Houghton: Madame De Stael..... 702
Houghton: Ruth the Moabitess..... 597
Howard: Nez Percé Joseph..... 399
Hume, David: Huxley..... 200
Hunt: Kennicott's Collation of Hebrew Manuscripts..... 107
Hunter: Commentary on Proverbs..... 169
Huxley: Hume..... 389
Hyde: Commentary on Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song.....
Hymnology in Switzerland..... 776

Illusions, Sully on..... 788
Immortality..... 752
Independent, The, Extracts from..... 589
Indians..... 396
Indian Evangelical Review..... 318, 553
Inspiration, doctrine of..... 735
Israel, the unity of..... 756

Jackson: Seneca and Kant..... 391
James, Bishop: Ridgaway's Life of..... 391
Japan, New..... 405
Collapse of the old system..... 407
Persecutions of the Christians..... 414
Old embarrassment to progress now removed..... 415
Japan now seeking harmony with Christian nations..... 419
Present progress..... 422
Recent success of Christian missions 421
Jebb: Bentley..... 596
Jesus a Total Abstainer..... 470
Did Jesus make intoxicating wine?. 470
Did he commend intoxicating wine? 480
Wine: Medicinal uses of..... 488
Jesus a Total Abstainer, (Fourth Art.).... 656
Law of the Passover..... 661
Opinion of eminent Jews quoted on the wine of the Passover..... 663
Unfermented wine only used..... 661
Christ's use of wine on the cross.. 679
Jew, The Wandering, and his Congeners 489
History of the legend..... 490
In literature..... 496
Interpretations of the legend..... 498
Other mythical legends..... 502
Jews: Modern..... 201
Jewish Population of the Globe..... 770
Jewish Question..... 562
Job: Commentary by J. K. Burr..... 169
Josephine, Empress of France..... 541
Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis..... 781

Kahler on Biblical Criticism..... 766
Kahnis, Dr.: Life Pictures of the Christian Church..... 159
Kafrwan, Tunis, Northern Africa..... 153
Kant's Critique of Pure Reason..... 784
Kant's Ethical Philosophy..... 391
Kelley's "Fraternity," Reply to Dr. Miller 589
South and slavery..... 340
Kennicott's Collection of Hebrew MSS... 107
Kliefoet: Practical Theology..... 148
Knox: The Bay Travelers in the Far East 203
Kopp: Charakter-Bilder aus der Geschichte des Methodismus..... 199
Köstlin: Life of Luther..... 556
Kubel's Bible Knowledge..... 558

Labor, Law of..... 373
Land of the Midnight Sun, Du Chaillu.. 192
Lange's Bible History..... 566
Law, Natural..... 378
Law, Autobiography of Rev. Luther..... 595
Law, Life and Confessions of..... 595
Leipsic, Theological Students..... 362

Literature of Sanskrit, Glance at...Page 450
Locke: Fowler..... 289
London Quar. Review.....137, 345, 541, 760, 765
Lossing: Harpers' of U. S. History..... 198
Lotze, Philosophy of..... 728
London Quarterly Review..... 760
Louis XVIII. of France..... 400
Luker's Church (German) Directory of North America..... 778
Lundy, Benjamin..... 70
Luther, Life of, Köstlin..... 556
Lutherans, American, and their Divisions 427
Lutheran isolation, Its causes, etc... 427
Ina legnate ministerial force..... 433
Its doctrinal phases..... 436
Its controversies and divisions..... 442
Result of its work..... 449
Lutheran Quarterly..... 33, 338, 533, 748

Maclay: New Japan..... 405
Mahaffy: Decay of Modern Preaching.. 586
Manuscripts, Five ancient New Testament 137
Martensen's Christian Ethics 791
Maury: Origin Unitarianism Christianity among English..... 154
M'Clintock, John, D.D., LL.D..... 605
His birthand early life..... 605
Call to the ministry..... 607
Professor in Dickenson College..... 609
His "creed" and faith..... 617
Antislavery views..... 618
Editor of "Quarterly Review"..... 621
His "Encyclopedia"..... 622
Visit to Europe..... 626
Death..... 634
M'Cosh's Typical Forms and Special Ends of Creation..... 377
M'Curdy: Aryo-Semitic Speech..... 178
Merrill, Bishop S. M.: Aspect of Christian Experience..... 374
Methodism in America, Schaff..... 567
Methodist Advocate, Atlanta..... 796
Methodism, Catholicism in..... 575
Metaphysics, Professor Bowne's..... 727
Personality, consciousness..... 735
Occasionalism..... 737
Relation of the infinite to the finite. 742
The infinite intelligent and free 743
Methodist Episcopacy, Theory and Practice of..... 507
James, Bishop: natural and physical life..... 507
His spiritual life..... 509
His official life and theory of Methodist Episcopacy..... 512
Wesleyan theory of churchship..... 515
Orders in Methodist Episcopacy..... 517
Methodist Ecumenical Conference, The.. 91
The early correspondence..... 92
Its successful assembly..... 94
Its fraternal spirit and action..... 95
Its rec gnition by the public..... 97
Its probable effect..... 101
Methodist Conference, Proceedings of the Ecumenical, Arthur..... 226
Metternich, Memoirs of Prince.....151, 338
Milburn: John M'Clintock, D.D., LL.D.. 605
Miscellaneous.....139, 402, 602
Mittheilungen und Nachrichten..... 160
Mohammedanism and the Turks..... 547
Money-making for Ladies, Church..... 602
Monasticism, Harnack on..... 160
Moore's Bible Wine Question..... 117
Morrison: Education of Women..... 152
Mormon Problems, Hanson..... 295
Morris on Kant 781
Mosiac Era, The, Gibson..... 289

Nagler: Allgemeines Handworterbuch der Heiligen Schrift..... 199
"Napoleonidæ"..... Page 541
Nations, History and Final Destiny of.... 189
Necker, James..... 706
New Englander.....133, 338, 533, 748
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.....134, 338, 748
Newton: Covenant Names and Privileges 584
Newspaper Theology..... 754
New Testament Criticism..... 762
New Testament, The, Harper & Brothers 200
New Testament, Wendell..... 585
New Testament Revision—Greek Text... 137
Nez Percé, Joseph 399
North American Review.....134, 344, 538, 749

Old Testament Criticism 755, 757, 760
Oriental Churches 357

Paddock: Fate of Madame La Tour.... 205
Palestine, Evangelization of..... 564
Pallain: Correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and King Louis XVIII..... 400
Papal State..... 770
Paris Religious Anniversaries. 774
Paradise, Site of, Delitzsch 158
Pasteur, Election of, to French Academy 767
Paul the Missionary, Taylor..... 181
Pauline Study in France..... 354
Peck: The Theory and Practice of Methdist Episcopacy..... 507
Pentateuch, Studies of.....372, 755
People's Cyclop. of Universal Knowledge 402
Pentecostal Books in Germany..... 775
Petersburg, Va., and Its Negro Population 330
Causes of early disabilities of the colored population 322
Condition during the war... 323
Progress in education..... 326
Salutary influence of religion in colored education..... 333
Pettingill: Life Everlasting..... 579
Phelps: Theory of Preaching 201
Pietism, Contributions to the History of, Bartelo 348, 350
Plan of Episcopal Visitation for Spring Conferences of 1882..... 201
Pope: Compendium of Chris. Theology.. 362
Potts: Relation of the Pulpit to Skeptical Scientific Theories..... 37
Preachers, Local, Our Methodist..... 226
Relative numerical decline.. 227
New kind of lay preachers needed... 243
Lack of organization..... 250
Preaching, The Theory of, Phelps..... 201
Presbyterian Review 134, 339, 533, 755
Press Law in France..... 360
Princeton Review.....134, 339, 540, 749
Prot. and Cath. Church Attendance..... 758
Proverbs, Commentary by W. Hunter.... 199
Prussia, Church..... 568
Psalms..... 375
Pulpit and Scientific Skepticism..... 37
Pulpit, Relation of the, to Skeptical Scientific Theories..... 37
The pulpit's relation to other agencies of instruction..... 38

Quarterly Book-Table.....162, 362, 569, 778
Quar. Rev. of M. E. Ch., South....135, 339, 543

Rationalism, Orthodox, Smyth..... 540
Raymond's Theology..... 362
Religious Liberty, Defense of, in France 360
Renan, Eulogy on Virtue..... 157
Responsibility, Personal..... 723
Resurrection, Journet on the..... 579
Revised New Testament 200
Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John.... 164
Revue Chrétienne.....152, 352, 360, 557, 767
Richmond, Sampter Co., Florida..... 199

Richmond: Florida: Its People and Its Productions ..... Page 635
Ridgaway: Life of Edmund S. Janes.. 391
Riehm, Religion and Science 149
Rigg's Discourses and Addresses 569
Rigg's Modern Anglican Theology 569
Roberty on Sabatier's St. Paul 354
Romans in Italian 376
Romans, Shumons on 575
Romanism 574
Röntsch's Jesus Messiah 566
Ruth the Moabitess, Houghton 597

Sabatier on French Academy 767
Sabatier's Work on St. Paul 354
Salvation Army 770
Sanskrit, Literature of, A Glance at the. 450
Its antiquity 450
Divisions of its literature 452
Lyrical productions 455
Drama 457
Its philosophic and religious teachings 464
Schodde: The Book of Enoch 581
Schools of Germany, Religion in 777
Scientific Skepticism, Pulpit and 37
Schultze: Biblical Archæology 553
Scoones: Four Centuries of English Letters 401
Semi-Monthly Homiletic Teacher 792
Seneca's Ethical Philosophy 200
Shea on Church Attendance 388
Sherman: Literature of Sanskrit 450
Sin, Original 364
Sinner Responsible 751
Shwardness 374
Skeats: Etymological Dictionary 600
Slavery 393, 619
Smith's "Criticism," Replies to 372
Smyth: Orthodox Theology of To-day ... 269
Smyth's Orthodox Rationalism 540
Solomon's Song, Commentary on, Hyde. 109
Soul and Spirit 781
Southern Presbyterian Review 760
Spalding, Rev. J. L.: Lectures and Discourses 574
Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer 280
Spelling Reform 792
Stanley, Dean 146
Stebbins: Study of the Pentateuch 372
Stevens' Madame de Staël 702
Strong: Documentary Origin of Genesis. 28
Sully's Illusions 788
Sumatra, German Missions in 772
Summers' Epistle of Paul to Romans ... 375
Synopsis of the Quarterlies .. 133, 338, 532, 748

Talleyrand, Prince 400
Targums 7
Taylor: Paul the Missionary 181
Theological Encyclopedia 150
Theology, Modern Anglican, Rigg 569
Theology, Orthodox, of To-day, Smyth .. 269
Theology, Practical 148
Theology of the Old Synagogue of Palestine, Weber's System of (Art. I) 5
Sources of the ancient Jewish doctrines 7
Introduction of Jewish nomocracy ... 11
Growth of Jewish legalism in opposition to Hellenism 12
The Torah (law) regarded as divine .. 14
Legality the essence of religion ... 16
The Torah as the bond of divine communion and recognition 19
Israel the people of the Torah among the nations 20
The heathen world condemned for rejecting the Torah 24
Inspiration of the Scriptures 26
Theology of the Old Synagogue of Palestine, Weber's System of, (Art. II) .. Page 272
Oral tradition 252
Scripture proof 255
Rabbinical authority 256
God, Jewish conception of 259
Man, creation and fall of 266
Punishment and atonement 268
Atonement 271
Redemption of Israel 275
Kingdom of the Messiah 280
Final consummation 281
Theological Seminaries, Science in 343
Theologische Studien und Kritiken, (Theological Essays and Reviews,) 148, 348, 755, 766
Thirlwall, Bishop 532
Toy on Babylon 782
Trevelyan: The Early History of Charles James Fox 196
True's Modification of Annihilationism .. 371
Turks, Ottoman 547

Unitarian Christianity among the English, Origin of 154
United States History, Harpers' Popular Cyclopedia of 198
Universalist Quarterly 134, 339, 533, 749
Unsere Zeit, (Our Times; a Review of the Present) 561
Upham, F. W.: Thoughts on the Holy Gospels 162
Utah and the Mormon Problem 205
Extent of the Territory 205
Population and history 209-218
Creeds and institutions 221
Remedies 223
Utah Review, Hilton 205

Warneck: Salvation, Faith 161
Watts' Newer Criticism 372
Webster's Dictionary 698
Weitbrocht's Life of Jesus 566
Wendell, Rufus: New Testament, (Student's edition) 585
Wesley, John, Green 302
Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, 140, 402
Westcott's Revelation of Risen Lord 784
Westminster Review 116, 541
Wheeler: Our Methodist Local Preachers 236
Whedon's Commentary, Psalms 375
Whedon's Romans in Italian 376
Whitman on Nudity in Art 568
Winchell, Alexander: Doctrine of Evolution 280
Winchell: Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer 280
Wines of the Bible 284
Proofs of the uses of unfermented wine 285
Methods of preventing fermentation. 290
Testimony of ancient classics 298
Scripture recognition of unfermented wine 304
Wine-Bibber? Was Jesus a 117
Importance of the question 117
The charge and its authors 120
Women, Education of 152
Word, Preach the 148
Wright's Geological Researches 533
Wise: Charles James Fox 684

Yankee 601
Young: The Problem of our Church Benevolences 45

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, (Journal for Church History) 554, 758
Zöckler's Manual of Theological Sciences 776

4853 6